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The Shape of Things

THE SENATE VOTE ON THE NEUTRALITY BILL seems likely to have been taken by the time this issue of *The Nation* appears unless the diehards stage a last-minute filibuster. Amendments are probable, with "cash" more rigidly defined so as to prevent even normal ninety-day terms, but with the "carry" section eased so as to permit American shipping to continue trade with belligerent ports outside the danger zones. On the main issue of raising the embargo all observers forecast a comfortable majority for the Administration. Some disquiet, however, is being expressed about the situation in the House, where opposition to repeal is said to be increasing. Yet if the Gallup polls are to be relied on, isolationist propaganda has made little headway in persuading the people that to supply the Allies with munitions is tantamount to putting America into the war. Nor has the support lent by Senators Borah and Nye to the new Communist line that the war is a contest between rival imperialisms had any significant results. Eighty-four per cent of the Gallup voters are still hoping for an Allied victory. In the end this weight of opinion should prove decisive. It must be remembered, however, that Congressmen, with their smaller constituencies, are more susceptible to local pressure groups than Senators. Thus a good many of the Irish Catholic Democrats from the Northeastern states who normally stand by the Administration may bolt on this issue, believing that England's danger is still Ireland's opportunity. On the other hand, the capture of the American freighter City of Flint by a German cruiser and its internment in the Russian port of Murmansk, whatever their legal significance, will certainly tend to speed action on the bill. If the cash-and-carry provision had been in effect, the incident could not have happened, and this fact alone should serve to put a damper on the fires of oratory and reduce opposition in both houses.

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THE INDICTMENT OF EARL BROWDER ON A charge of passport falsification has been denounced by the Communist Party as "an attempt through legal pretexts to silence the Communist Party preparatory to destroying the democratic rights of all Americans." The fact that the accusation rests upon a technicality rather than on the confessed offense, which is no longer indictable under the statute of limitations, and the inordinately high bail lend color, for all its hyperbole, to the Communist cry of persecution. But democratic rights do not include the privilege of breaking inconvenient laws, and since Mr. Browder has admitted using a false passport, we do not see how the Department of Justice could avoid seeking an indictment. If revolutionary parties must use conspiratorial methods, they must also expect to face the consequences. Defenders of civil liberties should be on the alert for the slightest lapse from judicial fairness in the conduct of the Browder trial. Even more important, they must fight against any attempt to make the case a jumping-off point for a general onslaught on the civil rights of political minorities, however unpopular.

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JOHN L. LEWIS'S RECENT DECLARATION THAT Communists will not be tolerated in key C. I. O. posts is undoubtedly a product of the German-Russian pact; and it is part of the heavy price that Communist movements everywhere are paying for that agreement. Although some groups in the C. I. O. had clamored for such a move for many months, Lewis had repeatedly declined to initiate a purge. He was apparently convinced that its danger outweighed its compensations. There were persistent and authentic reports of friction between Lewis and Sidney Hillman on this score. The basic issue, of course, was one of expediency: would the C. I. O. ultimately profit or suffer from an anti-Communist house-cleaning? Whatever may have been true before, the answer was clear after August 25. The plain fact was that the Communists had become a serious political liability and their presence in leading posts a powerful weapon for the C. I. O.'s enemies. This fact did not, of course, simplify the problems connected with even a moderate purge. In the first place purges are rarely moderate. And certainly no worker should be barred from membership in a union because of his political affiliations. Nor can the C. I. O. afford to let its voice blend with the anti-red—and essentially anti-liberal—chorus now audible throughout the country. Lewis's moves thus far indicate his appreciation of these pitfalls; he has not proposed a red-hunt in the ranks but has directed his fire at Communist leadership.

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"ABOVE ALL, THE LESSON THAT 1938 SHOULD teach the public . . . is that unionization of the automobile industry is here to stay. . . . Whether we agree or not, the conclusion is inescapable that auto workers believe the union has helped them." These sentences appear in the October 16 issue of *Barron's*, the national financial weekly; and they provide indispensable background reading in the present struggle between the Chrysler Corporation and the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers' union. The corporation insists that it is fighting "sovietization" of industry; the Detroit newspapers faithfully echo its cry, and letters from anonymous "union members' wives" are freely exhibited, reciting the beneficence of the corporation and warning that most unions are Soviet unions. What is really at stake is not quite so grandiose an issue. The chief points of dispute are the union shop, a voice for the men in the fixing of productions standards, and a wage rise. If scant progress has thus far been made toward settlement, strong pressures in the union's favor are operating behind the scenes. First is the inescapable strength of the union itself; it has experienced a dramatic resurgence after the long interval of factionalism. Secondly, there is the pressure of the dealers, who have already appealed for federal intervention. Finally, a protracted war now would mean serious losses to the corporation. All of these forces may contribute to the early conversion of the Chrysler officials.

*

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAGE-HOUR ACT was completed on October 24, and the standards it sought to establish were automatically changed to 30 cents an hour and forty-two hours a week. The immediate effect of the act when it first came into force was to raise wages for some 300,000 workers and shorten hours for about 1,400,000. Under the new schedules pay envelopes will be increased for upward of 600,000, and a still larger number will be favorably affected by the hours provision. There are signs in the press of a renewed agitation against the act as these improvements take effect. It will probably grow in vehemence if the present business activity is checked. Since the act has become operative forty-seven criminal prosecutions have been instituted and forty-three suits for injunction. Only two of these cases have been lost in the courts. In spite of this record there have been complaints in labor circles about the alleged failure of the former administrator of the act, Elmer F. Andrews, to crack down on violators and speed up the formation of industry committees intended to fix higher minimums in certain fields. Mr. Andrews's resignation, however, is believed to have been due to personal reasons, and there seems no justification for reports, circulated by anti-New Deal journalists, that he was the victim of a "vendetta." There are better grounds for criticism in the appointment of Colonel Philip Fleming as his successor, or rather, since under the law an army officer cannot fill such a post, as assistant to a non-existent acting administrator. We have nothing against Colonel Fleming, who has a good reputation as an organizer, but we think that the practice of drafting military men to civilian positions requiring a broad social background "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

*

AMBASSADOR JOSEPH GREW'S FORTHRIGHT speech to the America-Japan Society at Tokyo was a well-timed blow at the persistent sunshine propaganda with which the Japanese government has sought to cover up hostile reactions in this country to the course and conduct of the war in China. His representative audience was clearly startled by his declarations that the "American people have been profoundly shocked by the widespread use of bombing in China" and that they regarded "with growing seriousness the violation of and interference with American rights by Japanese armed forces in disregard of treaties and agreements." After this it will be difficult for the Tokyo authorities to maintain that the United States, in contrast with Britain, views Japanese activities in China with benevolence, and any new "incidents" arising from "misunderstandings" will take on a different perspective. Reports from Japan suggest a favorable reaction to the speech in civilian circles. Military and naval authorities are furious, for Mr. Grew's warning represents another blow at their prestige, already undermined by the collapse of the anti-Comintern pact and the stalemate reached in China. It should also help to promote a realistic approach to possible negotiations for a new commercial agreement when our denunciation of the old one takes effect at the end of the year.

*

THE GERMAN EXODUS FROM THE BALTIC ON orders from Berlin provides one of the strangest mysteries of the war. Germans are not a large minority in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, but they have been settled there for centuries and form a considerable section of the commercial and professional classes in these countries. Now they are being evacuated almost overnight. They are allowed to take only a few dollars apiece, and all their property is being handed over to a German government commission for liquidation. Why has the German government ordered this hurried retreat? Is it, as one report indicates, because of the insistence of Russia, which wants to eliminate any future German claims on its new proteges? Berlin hints that this move is merely a beginning for repatriating Germans from all over Eastern Europe—a gathering of the Teutonic tribes into one solid block. There may be political or sentimental reasons for such an undertaking, but economic

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importunities may also be a powerful factor. The little Baltic states all have export surpluses of butter, meat, flax, and timber, for which Britain has hitherto been the best customer. Germany would like such supplies as a help in withstanding the blockade, but it is already in debt to these countries and has neither gold nor goods to spare for additional purchases. However, by taking charge of the property of the people it is evacuating, it in effect mobilizes investments which, as they are liquidated, can be turned into the Baltic currencies and used for financing imports of foodstuffs and raw materials. Obviously this same operation could be repeated by recalling the much larger colonies in the Danubian lands. The German landowners and merchants of Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, however, are still a little removed from the Bolshevik fire and so less willing than their Baltic cousins to jump into the Nazi frying-pan.

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OFFICIALS OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL Committee on Political Refugees who attended the White House luncheon in their honor must have come away from the table a bit shell-shocked. For several years they have found it a herculean task to keep their rescue efforts trailing at a pitiable distance behind the fascist juggernaut. And now President Roosevelt describes their project—not their accomplishments to date but their whole plan—as a "short-range program" presenting "a problem of comparatively small magnitude." What the President envisions as the real business of the committee is the preparation of plans to resettle "ten million or twenty million men, women, and children" in sections of the "African, American, and Australasian portions of the globe" when the war is over. This gargantuan program, tossed off almost casually, is said to have caused some annoyance in British and French diplomatic circles, and it certainly calls for clarification. Is the President resigned to a fascist victory in Europe? Probably not; but if the Allied powers win, why should he expect migrations on so gigantic a scale? It is this point which is reported to be the subject of informal representations by the British and French, who in the midst of war against the Nazi ideology can hardly be asked to accept the necessity of population shifts for "racial" reasons.

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GOVERNOR OLSON HAS SERVED THE CAUSE of justice once more by setting Warren K. Billings free. Billings was as innocent as Mooney of the 1916 Preparedness Day bombing in San Francisco. The two cases involved different procedures because Billings had been convicted once before—of transporting dynamite in a San Francisco transit strike. Under California law the Governor may not pardon a man twice convicted of a felony without the recommendation of the State Supreme Court. The case of Billings came before that court in 1930, and permission for a pardon was refused, but both the decision and Justice Langdon's scorching dissent strengthened the conviction that Billings was innocent. The Governor has now commuted his sentence to time served, and done so with the approval of Chief Justice William H. Waste of California and a majority of the present members of the court. In the case of Billings as of Mooney the verdict of the people at the ballot box has proved a better safeguard of justice than the courts. Both men owe their freedom to the election of California's first liberal Governor since Hiram Johnson.

✶

WHEN CONGRESS PASSED THE EMERGENCY relief appropriation act—the Woodrum bill—last June, it inserted provisions designed to prevent the coercing of persons on WPA by local machine politicians. These provisions, in Section 28 of the act, were the result of the revelation that in Kentucky and Tennessee, as in some other parts of the country, the WPA had been used as a vote-getting apparatus. Section 28 has yet to be invoked against political corruptionists, but in Minneapolis it is being turned into a weapon against the freedom of WPA workers to organize, strike, and picket. In Minneapolis, as elsewhere, WPA workers struck last July against the relief cuts instituted by the act. But only in Minneapolis have federal authorities tried to use Section 28 as a repressive measure. So far as we know, Washington had no hand in the matter. More than 140 WPA workers were indicted, and seven have already been convicted on the ground that their picketing and strike activities constituted "coercion" within the meaning of Section 28. Bail was set as high as $10,000 in many instances, and those convicted are liable to sentences of two years in jail and fines up to $2,000. The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. have joined hands in defense of the workers being tried. Dangerous precedents may be established by their prosecution.

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"MEIN KAMPF" AND "DAS KAPITAL" BY TWO well-known German authors are on the reading list prepared for the British fighting forces at the request of the British War Office. No odds are offered which book will win the war. . . . On the basis of his reports on "Herr Hitler" and his attendants, Sir Nevile Henderson might well hang out his shingle as a psychoanalyst; and isn't the time at hand when diplomatic training will have to include an interneship in a psychiatric ward? . . . Captain William Sallsten has just left New York in a twenty-five-foot catamaran for a trip around the world. The more we think about this world the more sure we are that Captain Sallsten has the right idea; the only thing to do is to take a detour around it.

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War and Rumors of Peace

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

JUST before sitting down to write this summary of the week's news I read over the European dispatches of the last few days, the special articles in the Sunday newspapers, and the comments of several editors and columnists. No week since the period of pre-war crisis has produced a bigger crop of guesses and contradictory rumors along with some open confessions of total confusion.

As far as straight news goes, the week's record is easy to read. Several German air raids were made at the Firth of Forth and Scapa Flow. Only a handful of planes took part each time, and no large-scale damage was done, although four British ships were struck by bomb splinters and sixteen seamen were killed. Several German bombers were brought down. The western front came out of its state of suspended animation early in the week when the Germans recaptured most of the area taken by the French early in the war. The French troops fell back, and the High Command announced that it had previously decided to call off its attack on German positions and settle down to defensive action along a "prepared line." After this brief interlude relative quiet again settled on the front.

The impressive meeting of the Finnish President and the three Scandinavian Kings produced a new atmosphere of confidence in the Baltic. The conferees agreed only on a common program of neutrality, but Dr. Paasikivi has gone back to Moscow with considerable new backing in the form of Scandinavian solidarity and international good-will. The small army of Finland is mobilized, and various protective measures have been taken by Norway and Sweden, but the Finns expect to arrive at a compromise which will give the Russians some of the strategic advantages they want and yet preserve Finland's independence and neutrality.

But the most important happening of the week was the signing at Ankara of the British-French-Turkish pact of mutual assistance, which had been held up while the Turkish Foreign Minister stayed on in Moscow trying to find a basis for agreement with Russia. No official report of the Russian conversations was ever published, but it was understood that Stalin had demanded Turkish neutrality in any war in which Russia might be involved, acceptance of Russian neutrality if Turkey should be attacked by an ally of Russia, Turkish efforts to persuade Rumania to cede Bessarabia to Russia and the Dobruja to Bulgaria, and the closing of the Dardanelles to belligerent warships. Turkey refused on the ground that to accede to these demands would have violated existing agreements; actually they would have meant the end of Turkey's control of the Dardanelles and its effective independence. Turkey then hastened to sign the agreement with Britain and France. Its chief provisions are: a pledge by the two Western powers to aid Turkey if it becomes a victim of aggression by a European power; a pledge by all three that they will fight if any one of them is attacked in the Mediterranean; a pledge by Turkey to help Britain and France if they get into war as a result of their guaranties to Greece or Rumania, and to maintain "at least benevolent neutrality" if any other aggression involves

A.R.P IN GERMANY

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them in war; and a stipulation that Turkey will not be compelled to go to war against the Soviet Union under any circumstances.

There were other events: Russia announced that it was ready "in principle" to fulfil its promise to supply war materials to Hitler, and various German missions were in Moscow dickering over supplies and terms. Italy and Germany signed an understanding covering the transfer of Germans in South Tyrol to the Reich. Berlin dispatches offered these two agreements as evidence that Hitler could count on the support of his two partners. Peace talk went on sporadically, but no official move was made.

So much for the news. But what does it all add up to? Will Hitler try once more for the peace he so greatly needs? Or will he attempt an overwhelming air and submarine attack and/or a mass thrust on the western front? And if he decides to strike, what will be the result? If twelve planes over the Firth could damage several ships slightly, what would 500 planes accomplish? Or is it possible that Hitler lacks the high-grade fuel needed for mass raids over Britain?

If he attempts a great land offensive, will his troops plunge head-on against the Maginot Line or force their way through one of the neutral states? Will he perhaps try to overwhelm Holland, using it as a handy air base for raids on England and forcing France, if it tries to halt him, to push through neutral Belgium? Or will the Germans dig in on the west and wait for the spring, meanwhile launching an offensive or a diplomatic drive in the southeast?

And what about Russia? Does Stalin intend to back Hitler or check him, to supply him actually or only "in principle" with oil and food and metals? And how far does he plan to push his control in the Baltic? Did Stalin put forward the demands that ended his own negotiations with Turkey as a mere gesture to satisfy Hitler? Or is the new pact a genuine defeat for Stalin? And if it is, will he take Bessarabia in spite of it, assuming that Turkey will not fight and that the French and British cannot? And what effect will the pact have on Italy's relations with Germany?

Such questions have been multiplied to a wearisome total and asked over and over in the press and on the air. Few detailed answers have been offered, although hardy prophets have ventured divergent guesses. Only one belief is shared by correspondents and radio commentators alike—a belief that the first phase of the war has ended and that new momentous events are in prospect. Most of them expect at least one more unsuccessful effort by Hitler for peace on his own terms—and then a major attack; they don't believe internal conditions in Germany will permit him to accept a prolonged state of siege. Perhaps he doesn't hope for peace, but since peace would give him victory without further struggle and since war offers only uncertainty in the field and possible collapse at home, a peace drive must be made.

Already rumors of new moves for a settlement are whispered around the world, and most of them come by one route or another from Berlin. Hitler cannot ask for peace himself, nor can he put forward the arguments that are likely to work most successfully in Western Europe—or in America. But more and more we hear stories of the horror that will overwhelm Europe and the West if the war is not stopped now. The devastation of war itself is only the first and most obvious threat and the only threat that Germany can officially encourage. But other more permanent terrors are promised by the conscious or unconscious spokesmen of the Nazi peacemaker.

Sven Hedin, famous Swedish explorer and friend of Hitler, in a recent radio address expressed the new Nazi formula for peace. He had talked to Hitler, he said, on his recent visit to Berlin, and he could not, of course, reveal what the Führer had said. But he could assure the world that if the Nazis' offer of peace should be finally rejected, unlimited and unimaginable frightfulness would be visited on their enemies. And the horror of modern warfare would be followed by the greater horror of Bolshevism driving westward across the Continent. Only a quick peace and a strong alignment of the "civilized" Western nations led by Britain and Germany could stem this awful tide.

We are going to hear this warning again, from other sources. But no matter what the words or whose the voice, the plea will be Hitler's plea. Naturally he cannot himself openly threaten a Bolshevik attack on the West; the niceties of friendship even between dictators forbid such tactics. Nor can he revive now in the midst of war the old dream of an alliance with Britain. But when we hear these threats and suggestions, it is important to recognize them for what they are—a last desperate attempt by Hitler to salvage his conquests and prevent the collapse or annihilation of his regime.

Trouble Ahead in India

GREAT BRITAIN'S diplomatic victory in Turkey threatens to be offset by a colossal blunder in British policy toward India. As a result of the statement issued by Lord Linlithgow, the British Viceroy, in reply to an Indian request for a definition of British policy, the Working Committee of the Congress Party has ordered the ministries in the eight provinces which it controls (there are eleven in all) to resign in protest against Britain's imperialist position.

The Congress Party leaders have long been debating

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their policy in the event of a war between England and Germany. Normally, we might suppose that the Indian people would take advantage of Britain's preoccupation with the war to push their long-suppressed demands for immediate independence; there is still much resentment over Britain's failure to keep the pledges made in the last war. During the last few years the Congress Party has been building up its position to a point where it could readily take over the government of the country. But left-wing Congress leaders such as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have consistently maintained that Nazi aggression is a greater threat to the world, and ultimately to India, than British imperialism. The Congress did not accept this position unreservedly. An official statement issued shortly after the outbreak of the war declared that while "India's sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom, she is not able to associate herself with the present war when freedom is denied her and even the present limited freedom is taken away." But the Congress agreed to defer final decision "to allow full elucidation of the issues on the present and future position of India." This resolution was issued with the full support of Gandhi. The Liberal and Labor press in England joined in urging the British government to state its war aims with regard to India and, if possible, to make wide concessions to Indian nationalist feeling.

A golden opportunity was thus presented to the Chamberlain government to assure itself of full support from India's 300,000,000 people, and to obtain an ultimate settlement of the troublesome Indian problem. What was needed, above all, was a clear statement of war aims which would show that Britain is fighting, not for its immediate interests, but to make a better world, of which India would be a part. It was necessary also that the government hold out some definite hope of Indian freedom, either immediately or at the end of the war. A friendly statement which recognized the legitimacy of Indian aspirations might have succeeded even if no immediate concessions had been granted.

Instead of making a generous gesture designed to win Indian support, Lord Linlithgow seems to have gone out of his way to insult Indian public opinion. While he reiterated previous statements that the goal of British policy is that "India may attain due place among the dominions," he emphasized the British contention that division of opinion among the Indians prevented immediate action in this direction. On the question of general British war aims, which was the point particularly stressed in the Congress resolution, the Viceroy could only offer the feeble comment that His Majesty's government had not themselves "defined their objectives in the prosecution of the war." Speaking in the House of Lords, the Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, was even more blunt. He declared that greater freedom would not be in the true interests of the Indian people and urged the Indians "to strive after agreement among themselves" before appealing for independence.

The effect of these statements on the moderate Gandhi indicates the depth to which the barb penetrated. He characterized the declarations as a manifestation of the traditional British policy of divide and rule, and asserted that they "show clearly that there will be no democracy for India if Britain can prevent it." Gandhi's reaction was bound to be mild compared to that of the majority of the Indian Congress Party, which is considerably to the left of its leader. The action of the Working Committee of the Congress Party may foreshadow a new civil-disobedience campaign unless Britain repairs its mistake and meets India's just demands with a specific, dated guaranty of the dominion status it has vaguely promised so often in the past. In this connection the British government might well consider the effect on the United States. On most issues American public opinion is on the side of Great Britain. But there is little sympathy here for Britain's Indian policy. Repressive measures against India under present conditions would do much to alienate pro-British opinion in this country. The Indian people have repeatedly indicated their willingness to work with the English as equals in checking the growth of dictatorship throughout the world. If the Chamberlain government is unable or unwilling to accept this proffer of friendship, Britain needs a new government.

The Colonel House Hoax

UNDER other circumstances, the story of the "secret letter" sent by Colonel Edward M. House to Lloyd George might be dismissed as a joke at the expense of the Honorable J. Thorkelson of Montana, General Moseley's friend and the Bund's favorite Congressman. Mr. Thorkelson is an indefatigable extender-of-remarks in the *Congressional Record*. In the *Record* of October 11 he placed a document of almost six full pages, a letter addressed to Lloyd George, signed "Col. E. M. House," and dated "British Consulate, New York City, June 10, 1919." It is assumed that when Congressmen insert other people's letters in the *Congressional Record* they first make sure that the missives are genuine. But when Congressman Thomason of Texas rose on the floor two days later to ask Thorkelson if the letter was genuine, the gentleman from Montana first said he felt the letter was "authentic in the manner it is written" and then, when asked whether he would say it was genuine, answered, "No, except as far as history speaks within the letter itself." The letter purported to show that Colonel House was trying to get a bribe of $100,000,000 for Woodrow Wilson as part of a plot to bring the United States back into the British Empire. Friends of the late Colonel House understandably felt this was a bit of a whopper,

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and pressed Thorkelson for proof of authenticity. On October 18 the Montana Representative rose in the House to admit that the letter was not written by Colonel House and asked unanimous consent to delete "British Consulate, New York City, and the names of the writer and the addressee . . . from the *Record*."

Thus Thorkelson admitted that the letter was not written from the British consulate, that it was not sent to Lloyd George, and that it was not signed by Colonel House. Congressman Hoffman of Michigan wanted to know why the letter should be left in the *Record* at all. "What is the use of putting something in," he asked, "if we do not know who wrote it?" Thorkelson's answer was, "Because the substantive matter of the letter itself deals with facts." But an examination of these "facts" discloses that, among other things, Thorkelson is not particularly gifted with a sense of humor. "The cost of converting an American into a colonist of His Majesty," Colonel House was supposed to have written to his fellow-conspirator, Lloyd George, "is now 53 cents. Our expenses we have met by a levy on the population." Lloyd George is advised to flatter Wilson but is warned: "The adulators, however, should be instructed to consult the inventories I have prepared (appendices 45-83), which show that he is now surfeited with diamond stomachers, brooches, and bracelets. . . ." It is suggested that "His Majesty condescend to grace with His Royal countenance all stamps of a value of 30 cents and under. . . ."

The letter claims to have no less than 310 appendices, and its analyses are sternly mathematical and deliciously precise. Colonel House is supposed to have written that "the intrinsic patriotism of American industrialists . . . rarely exceeds 1.96 per cent of the normal average of the population. Investigation has clearly demonstrated "(a) that profits increasing in geometrical progression augment in arithmetical progression the coefficient of allegiance to the country of their origin, and (b) that profits decreasing in arithmetical progression diminish in geometrical progression that coefficient of allegiance. . . ." The plot is worked out to the finest detail. The British Ambassador is to be made Governor General, "the Rt. Rev. Dr. Manning . . . first Primate." Elihu Root is to become Lord Chief Justice of the Colony, and Nicholas Murray Butler and Thomas Lamont are among those to serve on the colonial privy council. "As a special mark of royal and imperial condescension" Washington is to be renamed Georgetown, but "lest sectional jealousy be thereby excited," Chicago and Boston are to be given royal charters and renamed Kingston and Guelf. These are a few of the "facts" that so impressed Thorkelson.

While Thorkelson was defending the "substantive authenticity" of the letter on the floor, a telegram arrived from Seward Collins, editor of the Fascist *American Review* and bondsman on at least one occasion for Bundsmen in New York City. The telegram said the letter was written by Dr. William J. Maloney, "distinguished New York neurologist who was active in Irish nationalist affairs," and that Maloney had sworn to its authorship before the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs on January 11, 1930. The document had been used by William B. Shearer, the shipping lobbyist at the Geneva arms conference, as "an amazing secret British document." Dr. Maloney explained that he wrote it as a skit, a satire, and that it had appeared "as a jest in serial form in Canadian newspapers." The Silver Shirt publishing house, from which Thorkelson finally admitted he obtained the document, added the House-to-Lloyd George touch as its own contribution. The "letter" was finally withdrawn from the record at Mr. Thorkelson's request after it had been denounced as "the most scurrilous, the most reprehensible, and the most un-American document" ever printed in the *Congressional Record*. But Representative Martin of Colorado has demanded that the House "visit its official condemnation" on the Montana Congressman. We second the motion.

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It's Germany's Move

BY LOUIS FISCHER

Paris, October 23, by Radio

I HAVE spent the last ten days in France. Before that I was in England for three weeks. During that period I had a thrilling interview with Winston Churchill and talked with other high government officials, leaders of political parties, members of Parliament, editors, journalists, men on the street, and men on country roads. I am convinced that the vast majority of the people of Great Britain are resolutely behind the war. Since the war began, there have been no negotiations, conversations, or contacts between the Allies and Germany, all gossip to the contrary notwithstanding. All requests from American cable desks for the "lowdown" on backstage diplomatic peace moves are merely products of justly suspicious brains which cannot believe that appeasement is dead; but even the arch-appeaser of the British Cabinet said that Hitler's proposals were unacceptable, and the ambassador of a great neutral country who still dreams of "peace in our time" felt that neither the country nor the government was in a mood to deal with Hitler except on terms he probably couldn't consider. This doesn't mean, however, that Hitler won't try again.

The same spirit pervades France. Daladier has two guiding stars, the French army and the British government. The British know what they are fighting against; they want to know what they are fighting for. The only British war aims so far enunciated are the destruction of Hitlerism and the restoration of some sort of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The French don't go that far. They are fighting Germany to make it impotent, whereas the English mind is searching for a new international order. If the war should be long, bitter, and costly, no one can guess what passions the returning French soldiers would inject into politics. Therefore no Paris politician will commit himself now.

England is startlingly free despite the war. It is more democratic than France because it is more stable socially; it may be more stable just because it is democratic. The freedom granted British Communists is accelerating the split in their ranks. In both France and England the fact that Communists are pacifists makes pacifism unpopular. The British Communist Party's new policy has divorced it more than ever from the proletariat. The Labor Party enjoys unusual opportunities for consulting ministers and receiving secret information. Nevertheless, its criticisms are sometimes vehement and frequently effective. It is impossible to run a war without the trade unions. Several Labor leaders told me they were opposed to entering the government for the duration of the war. This attitude is approved by the rank and file, although one or two Labor front-benchers dislike it. Labor's hesitation, plus the close collaboration between Chamberlain and Churchill and the moderation of antagonism toward Chamberlain since the war began, militate against any early change in the British Cabinet. A major military setback might alter these calculations.

The Allies do not intend to take the initiative on land or in the air. Five months more of this "near war" would suit them perfectly. The spring will find them with undoubted air superiority, larger fleets, more munitions, and if the present rate of transportation continues, a million British soldiers in France. However, in both England and France considerable atmospheric pressure for action is communicating itself to the governments. This pressure will increase if Germany's darting attacks multiply while the Allies remain politely on the defensive. The Allies are sparing lives and saving time. This is shrewd but does not improve morale.

It is difficult for Hitler to remain passive. Experts are debating whether Germany will attack the Maginot Line or violate Holland, or Belgium, or both. Whatever it does, or if it does nothing, the situation on the western front is decisive for Russia's policy. I believe that before the war started Moscow had fixed its primary war aims: to obtain part of Poland, to control the Baltic states, and to increase its influence in the Balkans. It tried to achieve this through the Allies, and when it failed, it got what it wanted from Germany. Therefore, so far as Russia is concerned, the war could end. If Stalin had made an agreement with the Allies, he would have had to participate in hostilities in case of war, whereas the German pact allowed him to rob in peace. Now, just as the harvest is almost finished, Russia may have to fight or at least help Germany economically; if it shifted to the Allies' side, however, it could get economic help and wouldn't have to fight. The present, therefore, offers the Allies an opportunity to wean Russia from Germany—but on one condition. So long as the German forces are not engaged on the western front, Russia fears Germany and isn't free to desert Hitler. And until real war starts in the west Moscow won't trust the Allies or come to an understanding with Germany. This statement of the Russian problem found ready approval when I outlined it to several clear-thinking statesmen in London. Thus if Germany attacks in the

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west, it may lose Russia, provided Allied diplomacy is wiser and speedier than in the past, but if it permits the Maginot-Siegfried deadlock to persist and turns southeast, it may tempt Russia into Balkan adventures while winter mud rules on the western front.

This brings Turkey into the center of the picture. Hitler is disappointed that Russia either couldn't or wouldn't coerce the Turks. I am sure Saracoglu at Moscow endeavored to bridge the gap between England and Russia. If Stalin wanted to bluff Hitler by creating the impression that this Saracoglu maneuver failed and that he did not succeed in detaching Turkey from the Allies, then the interruption in the Russo-Turk negotiations is not ominous. The only other interpretation of Russia's demand that Turkey close the Dardanelles is that it intends actively to assist Germany or to invade Rumania, either alone or in the Reichswehr's company. Under the Montreux convention Turkey could admit the entire Anglo-French fleet into the Black Sea in case of aggression in the Balkans. If this is what Russia feared, then the Balkan states are in peril. Turkey fears Russian expansion toward Istanbul and the appearance of Germany on the Black Sea coast. The integrity of Rumania bars both. If Russia had been prepared to promise Saracoglu that Rumania would not be violated, he would have been prepared to close the Straits. The Anglo-French-Turkish agreement is hailed as the Allies' greatest diplomatic victory, partly because it is their first, but in it Turkey refuses to enter into hostilities against Russia. If this attitude is not changed, Russia can march into Rumania. It is possible, therefore, that in the next phase of the war Moscow believes it will be profitable to remain on Germany's side and extend the red-brown axis into the Balkans, perhaps even to the Near East.

Italy is concerned vitally with every Balkan development. The Turkish entente with the Allies and the presence of an enlarged French army in Syria must interest Mussolini passionately. London is convinced that Italy will remain neutral. I am going to Rome this week to see for myself.

Stalin's Boost to Mr. Dies

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, October 23

IT BEGINS to look as if the Dies committee, like the poor, would be ever with us. The Gentleman from Texas has announced that he will ask Congress at its next regular session for another appropriation and a renewal of authority. He doubtless will get what he wants. A majority of House members seem convinced that he is saving the country from a fate worse than death. Strange to relate, many liberals have become converted to the opinion of the majority.

Granted that in its second act the Dies investigation has not been the burlesque it was in the first, its methods still leave much to be desired. Since renewing its inquiry it has called competent witnesses, and from some of them it has extracted enlightening information. It has found some Moscow gold and shown that the Communist Party is better financed than most outsiders suspected. But it has persisted in the practice of permitting witnesses to throw around accusations and political tags indiscriminately, without supporting evidence. And it has acquired the equally bad habit of staging apparently illegal raids on such organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Socialist Party.

The personnel of the committee has of course been improved by the appointment of Joe Casey and Jerry Voorhis, but they constitute a small and in the showdowns impotent minority. Voorhis, moreover, has been telling friends that the investigation has opened his eyes and is otherwise showing signs of conversion by the majority. More than ever Research Director J. B. Matthews, the embittered former fellow-traveler, is the committee's guiding genius. Counsel Rhea Whitley, a former G-man, is long on cooperation with J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI but short on effectiveness as a cross-examiner.

All in all, the set-up and method are not so altered that they explain the sudden acceptance of the Dies committee by its former critics. What does explain it is the rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin and the consequent loop in the American Communist Party line. Non-Communists, who used to insist that the comrades should enjoy civil liberties just like everyone else, aren't so enthusiastic about the principle now that Russia is part of the axis. Convinced that the Communist Party will be chased underground anyway and fearful that its burrowings will take the form of industrial sabotage, liberals are among those calmly suggesting that the Dies committee, regardless of its demonstrated unscrupulousness of method, may just as well do the chasing.

This cynical attitude might be understandable if the objectives and past performances of Dies were not so well known. The committee's new apologists seem to forget that Dies and his supporters are dominated by a passion for unanimity. They believe and want everyone else to believe in what they call "Americanism," and

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another A. Mitchell Palmer performance, this time with Dies in the lead, is inevitable unless there is a drastic and sudden change in the European situation. As matters stand, the nation to which American Communists give first allegiance is tied up with the nation most Americans want to see beaten. Fighting this entente is the group of nations this country is about to support with materials of war. It is the kind of set-up that induces hysterics. Those who insist upon civil liberties for the Communists will be howled down. Yet if the Communists are silenced, the liberties of other dissenting groups won't be worth a nickel.

What happens to civil liberties is of more than academic importance. The peace at home born of war abroad cannot last forever. At the moment we are enjoying a truce on the domestic front: Congress is content to confine itself to a sham battle over the mechanics of neutrality; business is enjoying a psychological war boom; everyone is preoccupied with European news and relatively happy. But unless the war lives up to its business promise, which now seems unlikely, the unpleasant realities of unemployment, wholesale violation of the wage-hour law, and maldistribution of income will soon have to be faced again. John Garner is already telling his cohorts that the war honeymoon is about over and that the time approaches when Roosevelt must be hit with a Congressional rolling-pin.

Unless war orders start rolling in much faster after the embargo is repealed, the President will ask Congress, when its regular session starts next January, for another large spending bill. Preliminary work on the new program already has been done. The tentative plans call for outlays of about $5,000,000,000 for national-defense projects—roads that can be used for military highways, hospitals that can be converted into military receiving stations, low-cost houses useful as military barracks, new railroad equipment needed to assure adequate military transport, and so on. Although preparedness will give the program its justification, economic necessity will be its real motivation. Essentially, it will be much the same sort of government spending for recovery as Congress rejected at the last regular session.

We shall be back where we were when Hitler diverted our attention by marching into Poland. Dies will have the authority and the money to carry him through the 1940 campaign. It is one thing for him to run down the agents of foreign governments, self-appointed and otherwise, but quite another for him to use his committee as a propaganda agency for reaction in a purely domestic political fight. To anyone who believes he couldn't or wouldn't do such a thing I recommend a rereading of the shameful testimony that helped to beat Frank Murphy and Elmer Benson in 1938. I further suggest some consideration of the Dies committee's recent condemnation of Murphy, Senator Robert F. Wagner, and others for daring to address a meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union. Finally, there is food for thought in Dies's repeated assertions that he has a long list of communistic New Dealers which for reasons of his own he has not yet made public.

Let Canada Be a Warning

BY S. J. KENNEDY

Ottawa, October 18

ALREADY, in Canada, we think twice before we speak. If we have something to say about the war, we must say it only to those we can trust and where we will not be overheard. We feel that it is better not to be seen with those of our friends who are suspected of communism. We are beginning to worry a little about some of the books around our homes.

This after six weeks of war. The Defense of Canada Regulations, promulgated by the Cabinet without reference to Parliament, have bitten deeply into basic civil rights, and the hunt for dissenters is in full cry. The regulations provide penalties up to five years' imprisonment and $5,000 fine for such generalizations as "causing disaffection to His Majesty" and "prejudicing recruiting." If any fish should escape that broadly flung net, another clause empowers the Minister of Justice to have arrested without warrant, and hold imprisoned at his pleasure, any person he suspects may act "in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state."

These are federal laws, passed by an administration credited with an authentic though antique liberalism. The little dictators in the provinces can be counted on to climb aboard with repressive legislation they would never dare attempt in peace. In Ontario, Hepburn has already moved to give every local sheriff or police chief power to prevent assembly and to arrest on suspicion of disloyal thoughts. In Quebec, Duplessis is making a probably successful bid for reelection, with new restraints on liberty in prospect.

If there is a virtue in all the sorry business, it is the warning it may deliver to American liberals. One of the most important points they can learn is that such regulations are not hastily drawn in the hysterical days follow-

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ing a declaration of war, but are prepared long in advance of the emergency. Accordingly, the way seems open for insistence upon previous publication and discussion.

Here, without the knowledge of the general public, a Committee on Emergency Legislation has been sitting since March, 1938, and finally reported its recommendations in July of this year. In spite of the administration's constant insistence that Parliament must make all vital decisions, including that of war itself, the regulations were promulgated by order-in-council (Cabinet decree) on September 3, under authority of a Great War statute, although Parliament was soon to be called to legislate for a new war. Nor were copies available to the public until Parliament had risen from its special session last month.

The committee of fifteen was dominated by legal and military civil servants, with an inspector of the Mounted Police and a few other specialists added. They are respected men, but committed to the dangerous tenet of bureaucracy that all possible power should be secured to a well-intentioned executive in the interests of orderly government. Even at that, some of them had their doubts. On the clauses authorizing detention at the Minister's pleasure, the report admitted that some committee members "are not prepared at present to recommend the adoption of such a regulation, as they feel it is an unnecessary interference with the liberty of the subject." Accordingly, the draft of this regulation was "marked with a black line in the margin to draw attention to the fact that it will be necessary for the Cabinet to consider whether such wide power should be assumed by the executive, and also whether it is expedient to introduce the regulation at the outset of an emergency or whether its introduction should be postponed until it is known how the situation will develop."

No such doubts troubled the Cabinet. It adopted the draft regulations without modification, and within a month drastically extended them so that "disaffection to His Majesty" covered the printed as well as the spoken word. The amendment was passed by order-in-council on September 28. Before a week was up, a test case was under way in Toronto.

There had been prosecutions in September under the original regulation. A street-corner pacifist was jailed; a man was picked up for indiscreet remarks in a saloon. But when the red-coated and, on this occasion, unromantic "Mounties" raided a radical's home in Toronto and made five arrests under the new clause, it was apparent that a wholesale clean-up of dissidents was in the making.

Oddly enough, they chose a group of Italian anarchists for their test. Few people knew they existed, much less what were their views. (They have a roughly equal distaste for war, fascism, and the Soviet Union.) Emma Goldman is in Toronto and is a fairly familiar figure there, but this was the first public challenge to her followers. A number of opinions are being offered as to why they were selected. Perhaps their weakness, compared with relative Communist strength, made them ideal game for the test. Perhaps the stigma attached by the public to the word "anarchist" was a factor; perhaps they were merely victims of Italian Fascist informers. In any event, there is no difference of opinion that conviction will bring much more extensive prosecutions.

The charge against them is based on books and other literature seized by the police, the Crown claiming they tend to "cause disaffection to His Majesty and prejudice recruiting." The implications are as dangerous as they are obvious. Literature which could be so construed abounds in thousands of homes and hundreds of workers' libraries. J. L. Cohen, K. C., a counsel with long experience in labor and civil-liberties cases who has been retained by the defense, is demanding that the Crown indicate which document in the mass of seized literature is being condemned, so that the issue may be pinned down.

The outcome of the case will be watched anxiously by people who have scarcely heard of anarchism, who have only a nodding—and, at the moment, curtly nodding—acquaintance with communism, but who fear that their own small liberties will be affected. They have as yet no knowledge of the full scope of the regulations. Still to come to public attention are such items as the removal of an accused man's right to elect in what court he shall be tried and transfer of his privilege to the Crown, with a tenfold increase in the penalty if the Crown so decides; or the fact that if newspapers adhered strictly to the censorship regulations their war news would be confined literally to the official communiqués; or the clause providing that if any publication is banned from Canada, then possession of any past issues becomes an offense; or the amazing prohibition against statements or writings *"false or otherwise"* which may cause disaffection, and so on.

All radicals seem to be facing a difficult time, but it is the run-of-the-mill Canadian liberals who are most uneasy. On the whole, they believe that the war had to be fought and that Canada's motives in entering it were essentially pure. Long before it became an imperial rallying-cry they were saying that "Hitlerism must be crushed," and they continue to say it today, as undismayed at some of their new fellow-travelers as they were at the old ones. And if they still believe that Canada's destiny lies on this continent, they do not think this the proper time to press the point.

It is these simple beliefs which have made the war accepted if not popular in English-speaking Canada and have brought to the recruiting offices far more men than can possibly be handled. With them goes an appreciation that sacrifices and restraints are necessary in a warring nation. But no one was prepared for an immediate and complete extinction of basic civil rights.

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Berchtesgaden—Russian Style

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

Copenhagen, September 30

THE "treaty of mutual assistance" signed at Moscow between the Russian bear and the Estonian gnat is a remarkable affair. Not, of course, that there is any originality in the way it has been brought about; this closely follows the familiar pattern of Nazi diplomatic technique—an elaborately preconceived scheme of subjection, a series of arranged "incidents," an overpowering display of military, naval, and air forces, a more or less veiled ultimatum, the hurried departure of the small state's leaders for the bully's capital, surrender.

As there was no Russian minority at hand in Estonia, the flight of the Polish submarine Orzel from Tallinn Harbor, where it had been interned, was alleged to have been abetted by the Estonian government. Shortly afterward the Soviet freighter Metallist went down in Narva Bay, torpedoed by one of those handy unknown submarines. No more evidence was needed to set the bully's military machine in motion against the midget. At the very last minute the catastrophe was averted by the arrival in Moscow of Estonia's Foreign Minister, Karl Selter, not for any negotiation but to sign away his country's independence.

I have it on good authority that the meetings between Selter and the masters of the Kremlin yielded little in poignancy to the famous Berchtesgaden interviews with Schuschnigg and Hacha. After a more than cool reception at the Moscow airport by some very subordinate official—while Ribbentrop and the Turkish Minister, Saracoglu, were being feted like kings—Selter, who is still a comparatively young man, forty-one years old, was bawled at like a schoolboy and curtly told to sign away three naval harbors and airports to the Soviets. White as a sheet as he sensed the probably inescapable threat to Estonia's freedom which these conditions implied, Selter in vain opposed a dramatic No! No! No! Although he had been provided on his departure from Tallinn with exceptionally wide powers, the Foreign Minister did not think he could accept such terms. But after a long and painful telephone consultation with Konstantin Päts, the massive and patriarchal President of the republic, Selter gave way. There was no other choice left.

Drawing by LOW
Joseph Stalin

In taking from the Estonians, nominally on a ten years' lease, three naval and air bases at Paldiski (Baltic Port) and on the isles of Dagoe and Oesel, Moscow has achieved its long-cherished ambition to relieve the fast growing Russian Baltic fleet—which counts at present two battleships, three cruisers, four flotilla leaders and some fifty destroyers, one aircraft-carrier, seventy submarines, and a hundred torpedo-boats of all sizes—from the perpetual menace of being bottled up, from the very outbreak of war, in the Bay of Kronstadt.

And who, in heaven's name, would think of bottling up the Soviet fleet at Kronstadt or anywhere else in the Baltic? Surely not the Estonians, Finns, Danes, or Swedes, or the downtrodden Poles. Even the British fleet is quite out of the question as long as Germany commands, as it now does, all the entrances to the Baltic. Who, then? Of course the Nazis alone.

In the light of these hard facts, the Russo-Estonian treaty, which was signed the same day—September 28, 1939—as the final Nazi-Soviet agreement for the partition of Poland, appears as a Bismarckian *Rückversicherung,* a much-needed reinsurance against Stalin's new friend. Rarely has diplomatic ink more conspicuously served to belie itself than in the case of these two treaties, poles apart in spirit.

And now let us recall what happened exactly one year—almost to the minute—before this virtual seizure of Dagoe and Oesel by the Russians. On the night of September 28, 1938, the Baltic fleet, having secretly left Kronstadt, was making for the pendant to these Estonian islands, the Aaland archipelago, situated just across the Finnish Gulf. The purpose of this move, which remained abortive thanks to Munich, was exactly the same—to provide "living space" for the Soviet navy. At the same time the Nazi fleet was heading for Aaland at top speed with orders to forestall the Russians or to oust them from the archipelago, at any cost whatever.

This strange attempted race for Aaland, now a recognized historical fact although at the time it passed almost unobserved in the shadow of Munich (the writer alone drew attention to it in three articles which appeared in *Truth* of December 29, 1938, the *National Review* of February, and *Ken* of January 12, 1939), must be set against Moscow's recent treaties if one of the most ironical tricks of history is to be appreciated. Last year, on September 28-29, the Nazis were prepared to fight to the

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last man to keep Bolshevism inside the Finnish Gulf; this year, on the same date, they are pushing the doors wide open to the Soviet forces, which have now Estonia, Latvia, Finland, perhaps even Scandinavia practically at their mercy.

One could fill page after page with quotations from the best-authorized Nazi leaders proclaiming it the Nazis' holy duty to protect Scandinavia and the Baltic states against the onslaught of Bolshevism. Now, seemingly for a slice of Poland, Hitler has deliberately let loose this same Bolshevism against the whole of North Europe. The day may not be far off when the new friends will fall out over some piece of booty and Hitler will bitterly regret the course of his present policies.

That War "Prosperity"

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

THE war has been under way now for approximately two months. So far it has had little effect on the lives of most Americans—apart from quickening their interest in the news. Except for the tourists who were caught in Europe and a few radio commentators or newspapermen, few of us have lived differently during these past few weeks than we should have if the conflict had been avoided.

For a few days, it is true, there was a vigorous boom in Wall Street. Some war babies advanced from 70 to 300 per cent virtually overnight. Main Street also had its boom. Recalling the shortages of the last war, hysterical housewives rushed to lay in stores of sugar, flour, and other staples regardless of price. Unprepared for such a rush, retailers were cleaned out in some communities. Sugar prices skyrocketed from a little over four cents a pound to seven and even eight cents. But the hysteria soon died down, and food prices are again close to the pre-war level.

Does this mean that the boom was a flash in the pan, as Eliot Janeway, writing in *The Nation* for October 21, seemed inclined to believe? This is possible, but the preponderance of evidence points in the opposite direction. Business is definitely being affected by boom psychology. About half of the increase in steel production from 60 to 90 per cent of capacity, for example, is due to a normal business upturn. The rest may be attributed to the accumulation of stocks in anticipation of a sharp war-time increase in prices. Throughout the entire business world this situation is found repeated. Business firms are buying more heavily than usual, partly to meet increased demand, partly out of fear of higher prices. Speculative buying would be much greater if there were not great uncertainty regarding the duration of the conflict.

It is fair to say that the war's direct effect on American business has thus far been inconsequential. Outside of a few airplane orders, on which shipments cannot be made until after the repeal of the arms embargo, no direct war orders have been received. Some of our normal export trade, particularly that with Germany, has been cut off. It is natural, then, that the enthusiasm of Wall Street should have cooled off somewhat. We are still in the 1914 stage of the conflict. In the First World War the boom did not actually get under way until 1916 and 1917. When it came, it was not a flurry generated by speculative influences. It was driven by forces too powerful to be controlled.

Unlike the ordinary business cycle, a war boom is not in the least mysterious. Wars create an immense demand for many kinds of supplies. Tremendous quantities of oil and gasoline are needed for airplanes, tanks, warships, and motor transport. Huge amounts of iron and steel are required for shells and other war equipment. Copper, lead, zinc, and aluminum are used in abnormal quantities. The withdrawal of millions of men from normal production is bound to create shortages of food and other essentials as soon as the reserves are used up. When these shortages appear, prices inevitably rise. They rise because of a general scramble to obtain such supplies as are available.

It is still too early to say definitely that we shall reenact the experiences of 1916 and 1917. No one knows how long the war will last. Until the last week or so there seemed a possibility that it might end almost any day. Much depends, also, on the kind of conflict that is waged. A war that consisted chiefly of an economic blockade would not create an insatiable demand for munitions and supplies. In that kind of war the Allies could presumably provide for their own needs. The British Empire is much less dependent on foreign raw materials than it was in 1914. It can obtain all of its war-time needs of copper from Empire sources. Canada has enough wheat in storage to supply Britain for eighteen months. France has adequate supplies of bauxite. In fact, the only important raw material that the Allies lack is oil. And they have sufficient stores of this essential commodity to last for many months.

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The events of the past week, however, suggest that this will not be a passive, economic war as seemed possible during the first month of the conflict. Britain will have to replace the warships destroyed and damaged by German airplanes and U-boats. It will soon have to take steps to replenish its merchant marine. Its air fleet will have to be enlarged to ward off the threat of German raids. And the recent heavy fighting on the western front will create a demand for increasingly heavy supplies of all kinds. British and French industry will not be able to meet all of these exceptional demands. It seems safe to say that if the war continues beyond the first year, the economic pattern of 1916 will be repeated, perhaps in a less accentuated form. And when this happens, everyone of us will be affected.

For many Americans, talk of war-time inflation conjures up a picture of silk shirts for day laborers and unprecedented prosperity for the farmers. To others it recalls meatless and sugarless days and shoddy suits for $100. What will a war boom mean for the average American? Will it bring prosperity or penury? These are questions on which the public wants full and complete information.

There is no simple answer for the reason that a war boom is bound to affect different groups within our population very differently. As is usual in times of rapidly increasing prices, speculators will reap a large harvest. Business men and stockholders will profit by the increased earnings that result from greater business activity and from the advantages that producers gain by selling their finished products at a higher price level than that which prevailed at the time raw materials were purchased. Many working groups, by the special nature of their product, will benefit in relation to others—for example, the skilled employees of airplane and munitions plants. Farmers and miners, as producers of primary raw materials, will be in an advantageous position; their earnings are likely to increase more rapidly than the cost of living. Skilled workers in general will do relatively well, particularly since the depression has left us with a shortage of many types of specialized workers.

The group that stands to benefit the most is made up of the six or seven million jobless men and women who can look forward to getting a regular wage once again. Not all of the present nine or ten million unemployed will find jobs even in war prosperity. Many are too old, have been jobless too long, or are physically incapacitated for regular work. Even some young people are unemployable because of their lack of specialized skill. But at least two out of three persons now jobless can look forward to the prospect of regular work.

Large groups of Americans, however—probably the majority—stand to lose far more than they gain from war-time prosperity. This fact should be faced frankly and fairly. The experience of the last war showed that white-collar workers as a whole were heavy losers. This was particularly true of the employees of federal, state, and local governments. School teachers fared somewhat better than other government employees because there was a scarcity at a time when the schools were growing rapidly. Such conditions are unlikely to be repeated. Today attendance at grade schools is diminishing. Nearly all the larger school systems have long waiting lists of teacher applicants. Teachers, therefore, like other persons on a fixed income, are likely to find that the cost of living rises more rapidly than their salaries. Unskilled workers may also in the end pay heavily for war prosperity, though the first stages of a boom are generally beneficial to labor: the unemployed are put back to work; men who have been working part time get more hours of work a week; there is perhaps a long-sought raise in wages. But although wages are adjusted more readily than salaries, wage rates tend—in all but a few industries—to lag well behind prices. Inflation involves a concealed but none the less painful cut in real wages.

Inflation, too, works havoc with the savings of the average family. While stocks are booming and speculators are amassing profits in commodities, the purchasing power of savings accounts, life-insurance policies, and mortgages is steadily undermined as prices rise. Our entire system of social security, one of the greatest achievements of recent years, would be gravely threatened. The federal old-age-insurance system is really a form of forced savings. The size of the benefit, in dollars, is linked with past wages. A substantial decline in value of the dollar such as would occur in an inflationary period would make the benefits hopelessly inadequate. This could be corrected only by abandoning the principle upon which the system is based. A somewhat different problem would arise in connection with the federal-state old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. Maximum benefits are established by law in each of the forty-eight states. While changes could ultimately be made, it is probable that the existing standards of security would be at least temporarily impaired.

Those who seem to gain the most from war-time prosperity may turn out to be the heaviest losers. Take the farmers, for instance. During the last war they enjoyed several excellent years. Stimulated by the prospect of profits, they expanded their output, bought new machinery, and went deeply into debt. When the war boom finally ended in the fall of 1920, they found themselves saddled with an impossible burden of indebtedness and permanently bereft of markets for their increased output. American farmers have been paying for their mistake ever since. And the same kind of thing occurred in many branches of industry. War profits are the most treacherous of profits.

Reference has been made to the silk shirts and similar

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luxuries which ordinary workers are supposed to have enjoyed during the First World War. What we do not hear about are the basic necessities which could not be obtained because so great a part of the world's resources were being utilized to make engines of destruction. The war brought about a fundamental dislocation in our economic structure. Good shoes and good suits were unobtainable at prices the ordinary man could afford to pay. Home building came to a standstill. Decent houses became so difficult to get that they were out of reach of the typical worker. It was not until some five or six years after the war that this shortage was remedied. An even graver situation may develop as a result of the present conflict. Ten years of subnormal building activity have left the United States short at least seven or eight hundred thousand homes. During the last year we have nearly reached a normal building schedule, but the shortage remains. A full-fledged war boom might force millions of individuals to continue living in sub-standard houses regardless of their increased wages.

Housing is but one example of the inevitable consequences of a war. An overwhelming majority of persons are bound to lose from an extended war boom, for the simple reason that our energies will be devoted to other purposes than satisfying our basic economic needs. The experience of Germany in the years since Hitler came to power is enough to show that a nation cannot squander its resources for non-productive, non-consumable war supplies without suffering a severe cut in its standard of living. A neutral country is hardly likely to devote as great a part of its resources to war purposes as a belligerent. But if the pattern of the last war is followed at all, the United States will be called on, as a neutral, to export many more billions of dollars' worth of goods than it imports. This difference will be America's material contribution to the war. If it is substantial, as it may eventually become, it will inevitably interfere with the normal production of goods for American consumers.

Yet even if it were never paid for, this contribution could not all be chalked up in the loss column. For it is an ironical fact that our economic system only operates at full capacity when we have a substantial export surplus. The reason for this is plain. Despite pump-priming and the WPA, we have not yet learned how to create sufficient purchasing power to call forth our full productive capacity. During the First World War the gap was more than filled by war purchases. It was filled in 1928-29 by unrepaid loans to Germany and Latin America. The chances are that the present war, provided it is of sufficient duration, will again stimulate us to utilize our full resources. But if it does, it will also usher in all the problems and disastrous consequences that marked the aftermath of the last conflict. If that struggle taught us anything, it was that sound prosperity cannot be built on the abnormal demands of war.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Automobile Economics

THE war has practically killed private motoring in Europe. Belligerents need to save as much gasoline as possible for their military machines; neutrals, fearing with reason that the rival blockades will curtail shipments, seek to hoard what supplies they have for use in emergencies. So civilian Europe is getting about as best it can with the aid of bicycles and legs.

We can be sure this deprivation is keenly felt, although car ownership is still a luxury for most Europeans. But for the majority of Americans a car has become a fifth limb the amputation of which would have a shattering effect on their lives. After minimum needs for shelter, food, and clothing have been satisfied, the automobile has first claim on the pocket-book of the average American family. Even in 1932, the worst year of the depression, more than 1,100,000 new passenger cars were bought at a total cost equivalent to about 2 per cent of the national income for that year. In the comparatively good year of 1937 sales amounted to almost 4,000,000, absorbing some 4 per cent of a much larger national income. Remembering that new cars form only a fraction of the total in use, and allowing for all operating costs, it is probable that America's motoring bill accounts for around 10 per cent of our total expenditures in any fairly prosperous year.

The year 1939 has been very satisfactory for the automobile industry, and total sales, including trucks, for the full twelve months are expected to be upward of 3,600,000. In 1940 it is anticipated that results will be even better, and a writer in *Barron's* estimates that production will reach 4,000,000 units, allowing for the fact that some increase in sales to Latin America will probably be more than offset by decreased European takings.

What are the inducements being offered to prospective car purchasers? The 1940 models now on show feature few radical changes in style. The chief engineering innovation is fluid flywheel transmission, which Chrysler and Oldsmobile have introduced in a number of models. This system eliminates the clutch altogether and makes gear-changing entirely automatic. No untried experiment is involved here, for the fluid flywheel has long been employed in certain British automobiles and has met the test of heavy service through its use in London buses.

One improvement in 1940 cars will be hailed by all motorists if it approximately justifies the claims made for it. This is the sealed-beam headlight which is standard on 95 per cent of the new models, and is said to give both more light and more efficient dimming. Its general introduction is due to cooperation between automobile manufacturers and headlight makers. There will be no complaint on this page of industrial combination of this nature.

So far as quality goes, there is no doubt that 1940 cars will be as good as, if not better than, ever. How about prices?

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In the early months of this year leading automobile makers, taking advantage of slack conditions in the steel industry, were able to place advance orders for sheets at bargain prices. They are also believed to have used their huge buying power to great advantage in securing other important raw materials, such as rubber, copper, aluminum, lead, and mohair. Consequently there was reason to hope that the upward trend in prices which has been developing since 1936 would be checked and that some of the savings brought about by lower costs would be passed on to the consumer. It is disappointing to find that, while Packard has made some drastic cuts and some other higher- and medium-priced cars are rather cheaper, most models in the lower range are either unchanged in price or more expensive. The increases are especially notable on models having the largest sales, such as the Chevrolet Master "6" sedan, up $30, and the Ford V-8 two-door sedan, up $23.

In extenuation it is said that these increases in factory prices will be partially offset by adjustments in delivery and handling charges. Moreover, we are told, the new models have more value "built into" them and include, as standard, gadgets which previously were "extras." With regard to the last point the question might be raised whether this gadget business has not gone too far. It might be a good idea for some manufacturer to produce a full-sized model which was a straight engineering job but omitted all non-essentials. What America needs is a good $500 car.

In spite of the fact that, by and large, the automobile manufacturers are swelling this year's profits by their savings on materials, we are threatened with higher prices in the early months of 1940 if they then have to pay more for steel and so forth. Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of General Motors, has declared, however: "We are strongly of the belief that prices of goods and services should not be advanced beyond the economic necessity of doing so through increased items of cost that make such action imperative. *And, in consideration of that question, weight should be given to any possible favorable effect on cost through increasing volume.*" I have italicized this last sentence because in a mass-production, mass-consumption industry prices and volume are inseparable factors. By and large the automobile industry has in the past recognized this truth, and this is the chief reason for its great success.

A general rise in costs next year is only likely if recovery continues, which would mean a rise in national income. Under those circumstances the new car market would automatically be enlarged, provided that prices were not appreciably increased. It is therefore greatly to be hoped that the automobile industry will not prematurely increase quotations and thus prevent the volume factor from exerting its full influence.

How rapidly mounting production can cut costs and add to profits—the converse is equally true—is illustrated by the following analysis of General Motors' results in the first half of 1938 and 1939:

	1938	*1939*
Unit sales of cars and trucks	614,953	950,998
Net profits	$33,020,000	$100,991,000
Profit per unit	$53	$106
Profit per share	$.66	$2.24

That is to say, an increase in output of about one-third doubled the profit per unit and almost quadrupled the profit per share. No doubt lower material costs account for part of this striking improvement, and some allowance must be made for a possible increase in profits of G. M.'s other interests, such as Kelvinator. Nevertheless, the figures prove incontrovertibly that in deciding a sales policy the car manufacturer will neglect at his peril the effects of higher prices on volume.

In the Wind

A CONSTITUENT RECENTLY wrote to Representative Melvin J. Maas of Minnesota urging him to vote for the repeal of the arms embargo. Back came a neatly mimeographed letter from Mr. Maas which declared: "It is very gratifying to know that your views are in accord with mine. I assure you I shall vote against repeal of the arms embargo."

THE DIES COMMITTEE is said on excellent authority to have received a request from responsible Republican quarters to stop all agitation for outlawing the Communist Party. The theory appears to be that an attack on the Communists would divert fire from the New Deal and that a ban against the reds during the present Administration would steal G. O. P. thunder for 1940.

BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE summary of recent German-Russian relations as reported in *Time and Tide:* "Now all the isms are wasms."

THE NEATEST juxtaposition of World Series and World War headlines was engineered by the Cincinnati *Post.* Its front page carried these two streamers: "Will Fight to the End, Says Hitler"; "We're Not Through Yet, Say Reds." The same paper carried this headline summarizing Chamberlain's rejection of Hitler's "peace" offer: "Chamberlain Defies Hitler Peace Threat."

DEMOTION OF Harry Pollitt from the secretaryship of Britain's Communist Party appears to be only one development among many in leftist circles there. American youth organizations have received word that seven British youth organizations, including those in which Communists heretofore played a major role, have come out in support of the war.

MICHIGAN'S AGED Governor Dickinson has become a perennial problem child for legislators. Recently he inexplicably vetoed a minor bill which no one in the state had opposed. When a delegation urged him to change his mind he abruptly fell to his knees, then rose a moment later and announced: "God says the veto must stand." One of the legislators remarked privately: "I can fight a Democrat or a Republican—but I can't fight the Almighty."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

London, October 4

YESTERDAY was the Sunday appointed for the loyal and devout of all England to go to church to ask God to bless the British arms and insure victory to the Allies. I have not read that Hitler has ordered his loyal subjects to do the same in their churches, but I have no doubt that the prayers of many an honest, clean-handed German man and woman beseeching God to give Germany an early victory and to spare the lives of their innocent sons reached heaven at the same time as these English prayers. I happened to be in St. Albans, and I watched the procession, headed by the police band, march past on the way to the wonderful old cathedral. It was a pitifully weak parade—boy scouts, nurses, women of the auxiliary services, some brass-helmeted firemen, and finally the mayor in his robes, flanked by a few other dignitaries, one in the wig of a judge. If these were all the loyal sons and daughters the church could muster, then God could hardly have been much moved by the volume of prayer. The site of that church had been holy ground for sixteen hundred years. How often during that time had prayers for peace been uttered while British were being massacred in different parts of the world!

The truth is that the role played by the church since the war began, and in the events leading up to the war, has been as negligible as it has been futile. Of course the great and generous Archbishop of Canterbury, who was so very kind and considerate to the present Duke of Windsor at the time of his abdication, has blessed the British arms and certified to the justice of the Allied cause. And innumerable lesser lights of the church have explained how right and proper it is to go out and kill your fellow-human beings in this particular instance. It is a relief to have the noble-minded bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell, pleading with his clergy through his diocesan gazette "not to give way to nationalist emotion." Recalling the terrific disillusionment of the last war and its failure to bring earthly salvation, he writes: "In this war as in the last the clergy will be pressed to lead the national cause and to stimulate patriotism. But while we know only too well how greatly we in the church have ourselves failed, in this fearful crisis there is a different and harder part for us to play."

As I read those words, my mind went back to the previous Sunday in London when I had visited St. Pancras's Church. As the services ended and the people poured out, a poorly dressed man and I went in, only to be hurried out by the verger, who was bent on closing up and getting home to dinner. I didn't mind, but the other man flew into a rage. "That's what they call a church," he said. "Why, he fairly pushed me out, that fellow, I suppose because of my worn clothes. How can I help it when I, an ex-serviceman, haven't had a job in a year? And that's what they call a church, and giving help to the needy. I've 'arf a mind to go back and give that fellow one in the face. That's what I ought to do." And he followed this with a volley of oaths. I had no consolation to offer.

The British pacifists have begun to recover from the first paralyzing shock of the war. At first it seemed as if they could do nothing but urge the formulation of peace terms and help the conscientious objectors. But now they are beginning to stir. Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge Union demands that the war be stopped and that Hitlerism be ended by "attempting to work out with all the peoples concerned a way of sharing the organization of the world's life, so that no one people needs to obtain advantages over another in order to be sure of possessing the means of life." Dick Sheppard's words, "The core of Christian pacifism is the belief that it is never right to take human life," are again being brought forward, and the pacifist and the Independent Socialist movements are going to run a "Stop the War" candidate at the forthcoming by-election in Clackmannan, Scotland, in opposition to the agreement of Labor, Liberals, and Conservatives not to contest any election during the war. Their candidate cannot possibly win, but they will make their protest. They are right in asserting that this war will no more bring peace on earth than the last one did. But they are only a handful. The vast majority of their fellow-citizens are determined once more to do away with the German menace by force of arms or to go down to destruction in the attempt. Nevertheless, I think that in this most tolerant of countries there will be tolerance for those who hold pacifist views.

As for the church, let me go on record as saying that if it had been wiped out and every place of worship closed on September 3, there would not have been the slightest change in what has happened. It was Lloyd George who said that if world war came again the churches of England and the United States should close their doors, once and for all, because they would never be needed again.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Healing of a Wound

THE NAZARENE. By Sholem Asch. Translated by Maurice Samuel. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.75.

A MIRACLE is to religion what a coup d'état is to politics. When successfully accomplished, what these two acts have above all in common is a certain fine brevity, which is the soul of their performance. And does not literary tact require that this essential condition of the miraculous should also be carried over into its imaginative representation? Indeed, in this sphere such qualities as brevity and intensity seem imperative (these qualities are well exemplified, by the way, in D. H. Lawrence's narrative "The Man Who Died," a version of the Jesus legend). Yet Sholem Asch, who is an experienced literary tactician, has fashioned out of this same theme a novel of enormous bulk.

However, we need only grant Asch his individual intentions to perceive that he is quite within his rights. In order to achieve his purpose, no method save that of historical documentation was open to him; and his purpose was to restore Jesus to the Jewish tradition, but in such a way as not to dispossess the Christians. Nor has history, in this case, proved intractable: on the contrary, this author's devotion to it has enabled him to reclaim for his people a religious hero long banished by the militancies of faith and dogma. Moreover, his portrait of Christ as a "martyr in Israel who died for the sanctification of the Name" is really in the nature of an act of mediation between Judaism and Christianity. Because of its disastrous consequences for the Jews, the fate of the Nazarene has induced a kind of traumatic neurosis in the orthodox Jewish mind. But now at last the wound has almost healed. And in this novel a nationalist Jewish writer bears witness to the fact that at least one ancestral bitterness which has divided mankind is finally being transcended.

Asch's conception of the career of Jesus depends entirely on his re-creation of the Jewish world of that era—and the re-creation is brilliant, convincing, and unprecedented in its range. At that time the might of Rome was crushing the Jewish people; their successive revolts, having failed to dislodge the invaders, served merely to increase their despair; and since no mundane solution was available to them, it was to ultimate ideas and last things that they turned for consolation. Frustrated in their struggle against the absolute power of their oppressors, the masses in Palestine, famished for the Messiah, created out of their extreme need a new absolute—an absolute of spirituality. The Rabbi from Nazareth was the one who most completely mastered this absolute, who was the most gifted in negating the norms of mortality, and who in his teachings, therefore, felt free to cast off the ideal of national exclusiveness in favor of a doctrine of universal salvation.

In this novel all the men and women that appear in the New Testament, and many more besides, are brought to life. The dominating figure of the Galilean is studied psychologically as well as socially and politically—the logic of the spirit evolves here side by side with the logic of the act. It is shown how Jesus, on coming to Jerusalem, becomes implicated in the party strife, which is related to the greater strife between the Jews and the Romans; and his death is depicted, in all its grand and tragic determination, as the fatal issue of the interaction between his own seminal desire for martyrdom and the punitive, imperious temper of the alien overlords. Asch absolves the Pharisees of all responsibility in his death, and in this he has utilized the findings of modern historical scholarship, which has considerably revised the severe judgment passed on them by the authors of the Gospels. This favorable estimate of the Pharisees is much stressed by means of the elaborate characterization of Rabbi Nicodemon, who belongs to their sect. Striving to protect Jesus and to avert from him the ire of the government and of the Saducceean aristocracy, it is he who undertakes to speak for what is best in the Jewish tradition. His interventions in the plot, both as actor and interpreter, give unity and emphasis to the book's ideational scheme.

To bring the distant historical events closer, Asch has made use of a daring device. He transports into latter-day Warsaw two contemporaries of Christ, one of them Cornelius, the Roman Hegemon of Jerusalem, and the other Joseph, a pupil of Nicodemon. This assumption of uninterrupted identity permits the writer to tell his story from two strongly contrasted points of view and thus to turn it into a dramatic dialogue between a Jew and a Roman. And as they tell each other what they witnessed in ancient Judaea, more than one intimation of the present creeps into the sorrowful tale.

PHILIP RAHV

The State Department

INSIDE THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. By Bertram D. Hulen. Whittlesey House. $3.

A BRITISH philosopher named Stirling who published an involved work entitled "The Secret of Hegel" was congratulated by a critic because he had kept Hegel's secret so well. And so it is with Mr. Hulen and his provocative, if not stormy, subject, the State Department, which he has covered during two tumultuous decades, first for the Associated Press and since 1926 for the New York *Times*.

In justice to Mr. Hulen it should be conceded that his purpose was quite evidently not to give an account of the course of the United States in international high politics between the last war and the present one. But precisely because the story of our State Department—smugly untouched by the main currents and preferences of American life—is so important, Mr. Hulen's genteel Baedekerizing of everything unimportant in the department from architecture to etiquette merits reproof for its omissions.

In the actual impact of the department, the White House,

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the other executive departments, and Congress upon one another Mr. Hulen breathtakingly manifests no interest at all. If his newspaper audience did not suspect that a reciprocal trade pact explained, for example, the passion for international law of Pittman of Nevada and the shameful silver legislation of recent memory, readers of his book would be encouraged to assume that legislation just happens, or that it flowers like the department's many specimens of Groton and Harvard. It is no coincidence, moreover, that Mr. Pittman is the peer of any New Deal baiter on the Hill.

A major omission of Mr. Hulen's derives from his unconcern with Realpolitik. As Mr. Moley said in his memoirs, the Assistant Secretaryship of State which the President tendered him is only nominally a State Department job; that particular Assistant Secretary hangs his hat in the department and spends his time playing roving center for the White House. The present incumbent, Adolf Berle, for example, would hardly bother with a job in the State Department, which is a political Siberia, unless it gave him an excuse to meddle with domestic set-ups. Of this there is not a word.

Mr. Hulen pays tribute to what is technically the most efficient section of the department, the Far Eastern Division, although he does not comment upon the adventurist imperialism of the Hay-Rockhill tradition. But since he has words of praise for contemporary leaders of other, less distinguished divisions, he is grossly unfair in not recognizing the prodigious labors of Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck, political adviser on Far Eastern matters, one of the least wishful of thinkers.

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the department since 1933 has been its imperviousness to the nervous atmosphere of trial and error, to the sense of institutional change, which has electrified New Deal Washington. The State Department has no more participated in the New Deal experience than has the Smithsonian Institution. For this we have the intellectual authority of the Secretary himself. In 1933, before the World Economic Conference in London, Mr. Hull spoke his still unaltered credo: "Business recovery must be preceded by the restoration of international finance and commerce [right now it is being restored by war—E. J.], an alternative to which is a continuance of the unsound economic policies under the operation of which the entire world since 1929 has been in the throes of an unspeakable depression." Now, as a matter of fact, the unspeakable depression of 1929 marked nothing so much as the failure of the United States to win prosperity by the Rube Goldberg method of saving Europe first. Unfortunately, Europe not only took our money; it closed the particular route to recovery Mr. Hull still has in mind for us. As the Beards have pointed out in "Midpassage," at the very moment Mr. Hull was going on record for a better and gentler world, the government of the United States was having recourse to exactly the "unsound economic policies" he was deriding in London: "It was attempting by 'bootstrap methods' to lift itself out of its troubles." Such bootstrap methods were all that was left for the New Deal—or for any United States Administration—when Europe reverted to type after the collapse of the democratic illusion of the high twenties. Short of going to war there is still no other method for the United States to try while Europe remains unregenerate. Mr. Hull has always been out of step with the New Deal, which believes that the United States can rebuild itself into prosperity.

Mr. Hull has gone right on making speeches about a free-trade Europe bringing the cotton South back to its feet—presumably so that it could remain the cotton South—while the plight of cotton has become still worse. His department tried to suppress the National Emergency Council's sensational report on the South. It has piled up a shameful record in the Chinese War, where it did not want to invoke the neutrality law—which it wrote—and in the Spanish War, where it used the same law with practically treacherous unconcern for the security of Monroe Doctrine waters.

Mr. Hulen's insight into what goes on is revealed by his final word on Under Secretary Sumner Welles: "Close in the confidence of the President and the Secretary of State." To anyone who has really been inside the Department of State it is incredible that Welles should be regarded as subordinate to the Secretary. Beside the Under Secretary, who is a virtuoso as a political manipulator, the Secretary is an amiable expert in clichés; while he philosophizes, the Under Secretary must of necessity be relied upon to run the departmental machinery, which he is supremely if arrogantly well-equipped to do. By the same token, the Secretary is a naive village dominie beside that untamed infant prodigy Mr. Berle, who, though not equipped to be a successful politico, can handle such thinking as goes on each week in and for the department. This reviewer regrets the lack of space in which to discuss the recommendation of the department, and especially of its economist, Dr. Herbert Feis, against the accumulation of a stock of strategic imports in anticipation of precisely such an emergency as the present one.

ELIOT JANEWAY

The Prophet of San Francisco

HENRY GEORGE. By Albert Jay Nock. William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

MR. NOCK'S "critical essay" on Henry George makes not unpleasant reading. To be sure it is possible to disagree about the merits of Mr. Nock's style; some may feel that the continually recurring literary allusions are a bit overworked, or that some of the carefully selected quotations from the great of the past will not bear up under the weight of Mr. Nock's pontifications. But these are minor matters. On the whole the essay reads well and contains not a little useful and pertinent information about Henry George's life and career.

When it comes to explaining and evaluating Henry George, however, it must be said that Mr. Nock's success is more open to question. Nearly everyone will agree that Henry George was in some sense a great man. Wherein lay his greatness? Mr. Nock takes a position on this question right off the bat. "Here you have a man," he tells us in the preface, "who is one of the first half-dozen of the world's creative geniuses in social philosophy." The essay itself is in a sense an attempt to make George's career and his treatment at the hands of posterity square with this a priori judgment.

The effort is, so it seems to me, a complete failure. This can best be explained by frankly admitting that the major premise is simply nonsense and without impugning Mr.

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Nock's dialectical talents. In the realm of social philosophy—and by this Mr. Nock means primarily one's attitude toward the individual and the state—George assimilated and gave eloquent and forceful expression to ideas which were part of the mental climate of his time. But this is a long way from being a great social philosopher. It therefore needs no lengthy disquisition to discover why "in this capacity he is preeminently the Forgotten Man of Anglo-American civilization."

The adoption of this view forces us to look elsewhere for the source of George's greatness. It is to be found, I suggest, not in the realm of creative thought but rather in the field of social attitudes and action. George had a profound and unpatronizing regard for the common man; he detested privilege and loved freedom; he pleaded and fought for his ideals with passionate eloquence and without a trace of personal ambition. George's whole personality, in fact, fitted him perfectly to be the symbol of popular protest against the crude exploitation of nineteenth-century capitalism. In point of historical significance George can best be compared to such British Chartists of the preceding generation as Bronterre O'Brien. Both violently denounced the existing order of things, and particularly the prevailing system of land tenure; both advocated and practiced popular political action as the remedy. Further, neither understood that capitalism, and not its abuses, was their real enemy; so that the immediate practical legacy of each was a sort of sectarian reformism without vision and without influence.

This analysis would, of course, be quite unacceptable to Mr. Nock. To him George's political activities were a kind of clownishness which seriously interfered with the operation of his philosophical instinct. This, however, I think only proves that in many ways the book tells us more about Mr. Nock than about Henry George. Mr. Nock firmly believes that mankind is divided into "a small but socially valuable minority" on the one hand and an "ineducable mass" on the other; that democracy is at best a fraud and at worst popular rule. It is an interesting point of view, and Mr. Nock reveals it with commendable frankness on nearly every page. But there is no real reason to believe that it furnishes a good basis for understanding the prophet of San Francisco.

PAUL M. SWEEZY

Crime and Criminals

CRIME AND SOCIETY. By Nathaniel F. Cantor. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

CRIME AND MAN. By Ernest Albert Hooton. Harvard University Press. $3.75.

THE AMERICAN PRISON SYSTEM. By Fred E. Haynes. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $4.

THOUGH "that which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," the unorthodox, national use of a current scientific term is scarcely admissible unless we admit that there is such a thing as "German" physics or believe that the philosophies of Hume or Kant are "un-American." It was an Italian scholar, Baron R. Garofalo, who coined the term criminology, using it in the sense that Webster (1939) uses it—the scientific study of crime and criminals.

Strangely enough, most American textbooks on criminology and recently some German scholars, too, attribute to this word a wider sense inclusive of criminal law, criminal procedure, penology, or even the science of detection. Hence no exception can be taken to Professor Cantor's using it in the American way, all the less as he is fully aware of "the existing confusion in criminal theory and practice." This confusion, however, is partly due to the lack of discrimination between criminology and criminal law, the rules of which, unlike those of social phenomena, are set deliberately by the state.

If by science we mean only natural science, we can readily agree with Professor Cantor that criminology is not a science. Yet the existence of *Geisteswissenschaften* (cultural sciences) is undeniable. Whoever thinks that research work has to result necessarily in an unassailable explanation of social facts should read Professor Cantor's brilliant chapter on the Science and Art of Criminology, in which the author most convincingly points to the "unimaginative scientists" who assume that statistical charts can definitely clarify the causation of crime.

However, Professor Cantor's conclusion that criminology is not a well-developed science cannot be challenged. Fourteen years ago, in answer to George W. Kirchwey's remark that "we have more of a sporting than a scientific interest in the game of crime," another member of the National Conference of Social Work replied that a critical spirit is developing. Professor Cantor's book bears witness to this development. Most serious research workers in criminology will indorse his criticism of the methods of approach.

In order to disentangle the intricacies of the problem, an agreement has to be reached upon the concepts of "crime" and "criminal." We have to realize that whereas crime, at least if its occurrence has not become unusually excessive, is a normal mass phenomenon in any human community, it is an abnormal event in the life of individuals unless they are habitual offenders. There is nothing mysterious in crime, except in mystery stories, since anybody may be a potential criminal. Criminals are very human, yet the explanation of crime, in spite or rather because of this fact, is extremely difficult. Fully indorsing what Professor Hooton says about the inseparability of and interaction between the organism and its environment, I don't think there is any reason for despair. In Professor Cantor's view "the precise and systematic connections between all of the facts involved in crime . . . will probably never be understood." Most probably not, but the unlikelihood of our ever landing on the moon is no excuse for not improving the methods of astronomy.

Were it not a singular apparition, Professor Hooton's "Crime and Man" would seem less encouraging than Cantor's work. His prediction that "the anthropologist who obtrudes himself into the study of crime is an obvious ugly duckling and is likely to be greeted by the lords of the criminological dunghill with cries of 'Quack! Quack! Quack!'" has certainly come true in the crushing criticism by Professor Sutherland in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. But I wonder with what cries the lords of the anthropological dunghill would greet a criminologist who disregarded the fundamental concepts of both anthropology and logic and dared to embark upon an anthropological adventure.

Who is a criminal? "A criminal for our purpose—that is,

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the study of the relation of social behavior to the physical characteristics—is a person who is under sentence in a penal institution having been convicted for an anti-social act punishable by imprisonment." What about a murderer sentenced to death or a burglar who is at liberty? And what acts are anti-social? There can certainly be no doubt about the acts of Al Capone, Dr. Crippen, or the Sawney Bean family, who in the sixteenth century lived in a cave near Galway for five and twenty years on robbery, murder, and cannibalism. But what about a fascist in the U. S. S. R., a Bolshevik in Nazi-land at least until recently? And can it be really true that "the relation of social behavior to the physical characteristics" in a tiger's organism "can be studied advantageously" in the Bronx Zoo rather than in the jungles of India or Africa?

Similar questions could be endlessly asked, but they would bring us no nearer to an explanation of why and how head shape, eye color, nose form, and other "useful criteria of race" should account for the various criminal reactions of organic constitution to environmental stimuli. Such explanation is all the more needed as in our age most serious students "of the psychological dunghill" profess the central problem of all psychology, the "soul," to be more obscure and indeterminate than ever before. Although Professor Hooton himself emphasizes that "in the very elementary field of the relation of physique to occupation . . . almost nothing is known," he wants us to believe that the racial structure of a professional criminal chiefly accounts for his occupation. Unfortunately his race concept is not very steady either, since on page 32 the Aryans are still a race, but cease to be one on page 248.

Riddles of the universe are not likely to be solved with the card-index system. Like all scholars who disregard Goethe's admonition, "Ein Lug in's Land ist bald errichtet um in's Unendliche zu schauen," Professor Hooton was led into a hopelessly vicious circle by the revitalization of the "born criminal" on a racial basis. This "born criminal" passed away long before Lacassagne. Tarde, Colajanni, and Dr. Goring killed him, of an inherent deadly disease: the incongruity of a social fact and the preponderantly biological explanation given to it. Racial explanation is the least satisfactory because the "anti-social" character of a human act may and, as a rule, does vary much faster than the inherited racial inclination to act in a way that might be "anti-social" today and is not any more tomorrow. Professor Hooton deems "human deterioration to be ultimately responsible not only for crime but for the evils of war, the oppression of the populace by totalitarian states [aren't, then, the Nazis a superior race?], and for all of the social cataclysms which are rocking the world." I wonder how war, oppression, and cataclysms were possible in the past when the human race had not yet deteriorated?

Not only our still scanty knowledge of the crime and the criminal but also emotions that call for retribution account for the imperfection of the penal system, which is as adequate to reform a criminal as a blacksmith to repair the works of a watch. Even if we indorse the last sentence in Professor Haynes's excellent volume, "The American Prison System," "In the end society will abandon the superstition that loss of liberty makes people fit for liberty," so far no prison substitutes have proved satisfactory.

Although the United States has contributed more original institutions to penology than has any other country, the title of Professor Haynes's book is inexact in that the variety of prison systems does not justify the phrase an "American prison system." But the book is a thoroughgoing and lucid account of what is noteworthy in more than 4,000 penal and correctional institutions. Moreover, it is a scholarly discussion of all essential elements of prison life. The conclusion, however, that the "prison without walls," meaning the developments of probation and parole, is an approach to the abolition of the whole prison system is, I am afraid, rather premature.

There was some sound reason in the European pre-war distinction between retributive and preventive measures, the latter being used only to curb the recruits and veterans of crime, the juvenile and habitual offenders. I still remember how at the International Penitentiary Congress at Washington (1910) Professor Count Gleispach (now in Berlin) and myself had to defend the American indeterminate sentence against European criticism which argued that personal liberty must not be sacrificed on the altar of crime prevention. Post-war events have to a certain extent warranted this objection. It is true, on the other hand, that John Howard's slogan, "Make them diligent and they will be honest," is not entirely satisfactory either. Even a "diligent" murderer or sexual offender might continue to murder and to rape. Not even the rediscovery of penal settlements for paroled prisoners would probably work the miracle Professor Hooton expects them to do.

For the time being all prison reform depends on more deliberate individualization in prisons and on educational institutions properly staffed with professionalized personnel. Criminology is a comparatively young and, we all hope, a promising branch of social science, but it never did any good to pluck unripe fruit from the tree of knowledge—even in the Garden of Eden this was a ticklish thing to do.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

Recent Fiction

MEN, WOMEN, AND PLACES. By Sigrid Undset. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

It is a pleasure, after the publication of one of her mediocre earlier novelettes last year, to welcome a truly rich and meaty book by Sigrid Undset, a book really worthy of one of the most distinguished woman novelists of our time. "Men, Women, and Places" is a collection of nine essays, all written during the last few years, on subjects ranging from D. H. Lawrence to a fourteenth-century religious fanatic named Margery Kempe, and including also two charming travel sketches dealing with the present and the past of Glastonbury and the island of Gotland. The men and women of the book are mostly Catholics, and Mrs. Undset, as a Catholic, naturally displays a warm sympathy with their outlook on life, with their fortitude under tribulation, but she never writes as a partisan; rather, she serves as an interpreter of the ideals of people who, entirely apart from their theological convictions, lived, fought, and died with one aim, one business, one desire. For herself, she declines to insert any moralizings,

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doctrinary or otherwise, except in the first essay, which is a sharply reasoned and vividly worded argument against spiritualism—at least against that highly colored kind of spiritualism which, by picturing the after-life in terms of the material joys and discomforts of this world, reduces God to "a sort of cornucopia on the top of a sort of cosmic wedding-cake."

SEVEN AGAINST THE YEARS. By Sterling North. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

The literary editor of the Chicago *Daily News* pictures seven University of Chicago graduates from commencement in 1929 to ten-year reunion in 1939. One of them is admittedly and obviously the author himself; the rest include a religious fanatic, a Norse geologist who turns labor organizer, an Irish promoter who gets caught in the Ohio River flood, a cheerful Greek who seldom gets the breaks, a rich packer's hard-drinking son, and a high-class gigolo—in other words, a handy cross-section of the generation to whom Mr. North dedicates the book: "My Contemporaries."

SAM. By John Selby. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

Sam Larson comes in like a lion, roaring, "Ho! There's Dewey. And goddam it, he ain't so much!" (Referring to the admiral, not the D. A.). Sam is a man of quick decisions, hard-headed common sense, boundless energy, and not too many scruples; starting with four thousand dollars which he won from a Texas cattleman in a poker game, he scrapes and hammers together a little economic empire, which he hopes to hand on to his son but which ultimately serves as the foundation of a university. And Sam goes out still roaring. The first half of the story, showing Sam clawing and tearing his way to the top of the heap in Centropolis, gives a robust picture of the exuberant, raucous growth of a Middle Western city, while the later episodes grow chiefly out of his marital difficulties.

THIS PORCELAIN CLAY. By Naomi Jacob. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

Louis Silver, a clever, unscrupulous Englishman who respects only his mother, his sister, and money, sets about building up a fortune from the ruins of his father's financial failure. Though Aryan enough to satisfy even Herr Streicher, he pretends to be a Jew because he believes this will be helpful to him in business relations. At first he climbs slowly; then he makes, and loses, a fortune; but even at the height of his success he finds no contentment because he knows nothing of beauty or of love. The first part of the story—his youthful struggles and early business career—is well told, but the subsequent unraveling of his marital and spiritual tangles is slow, repetitious, and far from convincing. Perhaps one trouble is that, while the author tells us many times what a shrewd business man Silver is, she leaves the actual details of both his success and his failure largely to the imagination. Or perhaps, because the Jewish question forms the central theme of so many books today, as soon as we hear of Louis Silver's pose we assume that racial complications will play a large part in the story, when as a matter of fact his pretense has very little bearing on the plot one way or another.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

DRAMA

What Nothing Succeeds Like

NOT even the obvious virtues of farce as the Messrs. Kaufman and Hart have learned to write it seem quite adequate to explain the boundless enthusiasm with which their successive works are received. A very large and very mixed audience has taken them to its heart in some special way and greets them with a warmth seldom exhibited upon any other occasion, grave or gay. The glow begins at the first hint that a new piece is to be expected, and as the great night approaches, the elect assemble in the best of their good clothes ready to greet one another with happy smiles which say, "This is going to be good." When the curtain goes down upon the first act, the applause which breaks forth is as unanimous and as inevitable as the plaudits of the Reichstag, and yet it is not from the members of any single party. One touch of something—it probably isn't nature—has made the giddiest of debutantes and the tiredest of tired business men one with the critic. This, they all say, is what we really like. And thereby they confound the gloomiest critics of our civilization. Who says that the modern world acknowledges no "principle of unity"?

There is no doubt about the fact that "The Man Who Came to Dinner" (Music Box Theater) is one of the best and funniest of the farces which Mr. Kaufman has written with either Mr. Hart or any of the other numerous collaborators with whom he has worked. In a very general way it belongs in the category of "The Royal Family" and "You Can't Take It with You," though it is technically smoother than either, and doubtless owes part of its effectiveness to the steadily accelerating tempo and the mounting complications which ensue as one character after another is introduced to keep the pot a-boiling. And yet, sound as the workmanship is, it is still, I think, not entirely clear just why the enthusiasm of an audience is quite so unreserved, unanimous, and unqualified as it actually is, just why the plays of Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Hart should be treated as absolutely *sui generis* and find audiences whose applause is not so much a judgment as the confirmation of a foregone conclusion. Perhaps the fact that they are so treated helps to give the authors an air of confidence, helps them to be what it is already taken for granted that they are. Perhaps Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Hart are made funnier by being thought funny, just as a beauitful woman is said to be made more beautiful by the knowledge that she is loved. But that probably does not prevent other comic writers from asking themselves what the unloved are said to ask: "What's he got that I haven't?"

The answer is as difficult in the second case as it is in the first, but part of it probably is that Mr. Kaufman and Mr. Hart have a certain power of suggesting that they are very much in the know, that to laugh with them is to laugh in the most up-to-date company, and that, contrariwise, to fail to see the point in this satiric thrust or that is simply to confess that one does not know one's way about the metropolis. "The Man Who Came to Dinner" has, that is to

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say, something of the warm, cosy malice of a gossip column. Of course the man in question, a man who came unwilling and stayed for weeks because he broke a hip on the doorstep, is not really Alexander Woollcott; Alexander Woollcott does not wear a beard as this man does. But were it not for this essential incongruity, that intimate inner circle—strictly limited to forty or fifty million persons—which shares the carefully guarded secret of the Town Crier's habits, tastes, and mannerisms might suspect that this sentimental egotist with a serpent's tongue was intended as a far from flattering portrait. Even as it is, one may speculate wickedly upon the question whether or not the British jack-of-all-theatrical-trades was intended to bear some resemblance to Noel Coward, and when a much-discussed character—a practical joker from Hollywood most mysteriously known as "Banjo"—finally appears, one may nudge one's companion and say, "That's probably Harpo Marx. 'Harpo' and 'Banjo.' Get it?" The play does, to be sure, poke fun at just the sort of celebrity worship to which it appeals, and on Christmas morning the gifts received by the man who came to dinner include, among others, little remembrances from Shirley Temple, William Lyon Phelps, and Admiral Byrd. But though you may laugh as you will, neither you nor I really know so many people whom any autograph hunter would prize.

Perhaps I am merely being perverse, for my laughter was as loud and as long as that of the audience about me. Perhaps Mr. Kaufman is only an Aristides who has been called "the funny" once too often. But I do not think that it is merely that. "The Man Who Came to Dinner" is too bright, too hard, and too competent. It is funny without being gay, and it leaves no pleasant chuckles behind. I do not mean merely that it is cynical, though, except for a few inevitable and incongruous passages of sentiment, it is as loveless as tinkling cymbals. I do mean that there is no ebullience even of cynicism, no real joyousness, in it. Laughable it certainly is; merry it certainly is not. And the best of comedies are somehow merry. All the parts are played with suave expertness, only one, I think, with more than that. Carol Goodner, an American whose successes have been mostly in London, brings to the part of the professional siren a human warmth lacking in the well-disciplined performances of the rest of the cast.

"Ladies and Gentlemen" (Martin Beck Theater) is a flimsily artificial little play adapted from the Hungarian by Charles MacArthur and Ben Hecht. It is all about a charming and sympathetic young girl who brings her fellow-jurors on a murder case around to her way of thinking, and it would hardly deserve attention were it not for one fact. Helen Hayes gives a performance so quietly and unassumingly expert that there are moments when one actually believes in the girl she is undertaking to represent and actually cares what happens to her. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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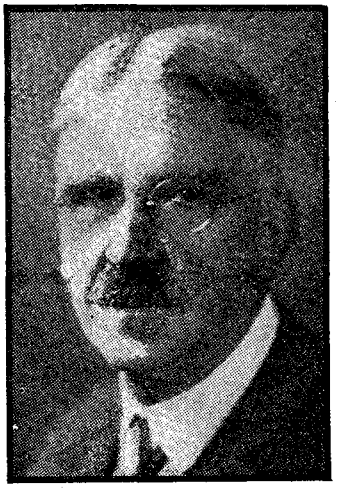

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RECORDS

THE letter of R. W. Snyder on page 480 deals with an issue important enough for me to want to make my position unmistakable. If Mr. Snyder will reread the paragraph that distressed him and keep a tight hold on his emotions he may understand it correctly this time and realize that it does not express any "hatred of all Germans and their works" or even of Wagner and all his works. He says my dislike of Wagner's music is a prejudice to which I have every right; but a critic has no right to mere prejudices, and I have no such prejudices against Wagner. What I have, and have a right to, is reasoned judgments—not of German music or Wagner's music as a whole, but of individual works. These judgments are concerned to some extent with the composer's use of his medium, but also with what the medium is used for—what the work is about, what it embodies, expresses, conveys. If, in that paragraph, I had been writing about Strauss's "Don Quixote," the work of a living German composer, or about Wagner's "Meistersinger" or "Tristan," I would have written about the qualities in each that make me think it is a fine work. In the same way, writing about Strauss's Symphonia Domestica last year, of "Parsifal" (except the Prelude and Good Friday music) a year before, of the "Ring" a month ago, I wrote of the qualities in each that make me think it a poor work. In the "Ring" it is certain philosophical and emotional ideas and attitudes which are its very essence, which are conveyed not only by the text but by the music—ideas and attitudes which found embodiment in this work as part of a line of influential German thought, and which in turn, as part of this development, contributed to its fruition in events from 1933 onward. What I pointed out was that some people had been conscious of these dangerously muddled ideas and found them unpleasant when they had listened to the "Ring" even before 1933; and that others had been made conscious of them and of their unpleasantness by recent events.

The time to speak of phonographs is at hand; and I want to make one statement that will hold for all of them. For a machine to sound well the speaker must have sufficient "baffle area"—which means that the larger the cabinet the better the sound, and vice-versa. And the best result, I am informed, is obtained from an arrangement which I recommend for every machine that I will discuss: the radio tuner, phonograph equipment, and amplifier in one cabinet; the speaker in a cabinet of its own. This cabinet for the speaker is not one of the expensive affairs with bass-reflex and other such tricks, but a large closed box, braced for complete rigidity, lined with half-inch felt, and with a hole of the right size in front over which the speaker is mounted. For the fifteen-inch speakers of the Scott twenty- and thirty-tube sets the box should measure three by four by one and one-half feet; for a twelve-inch speaker it can measure three by four by one (these are interior measurements.) A carpenter can make such a box of three-ply plywood for no more than $15; using better wood he will charge more.

The cabinet which holds the tuner, phonograph equipment, and amplifier can be small and low enough to stand beside a chair (it should be on wheels), so that one can change records without getting up. This eliminates the temptation of a record-changer, and with this the need of permanent or semi-permanent needles. There are uncertainties and fears about what these needles—sapphire, chromium—do to records; and in these circumstances it is best to use the steel needle (Victor full-tone or half-tone, whichever gives the best result on one's machine; and shadowgraphed, if one can afford it), which offers the certainty of best reproduction without damage to the record if a fresh needle is used for each side.

The finest machine I know from personal experience is the Scott thirty-tube Philharmonic, which costs $397.50 in New York. This is a radio, to which one must add phonograph equipment that can be bought with the least trouble from Scott, but more cheaply from Radio Wire Television, Inc., 100 Sixth Avenue: a Garrard A6-C motor for $10.88, a high-fidelity and high-impedance Garrard magnetic pickup for $6.06. With the speaker in its separate cabinet the rest of the radio can be put with the phonograph equipment into a single cabinet bought from Scott or made by a cabinetmaker, or the radio can be left in the cabinet which Scott gives free and the phonograph equipment put into a little box that can be placed on a table next to one's chair. One cabinetmaker made such a box of maple for $10.

The Scott twenty-tube Phantom De Luxe, which costs $259.50 in New York, is a fine machine which should sound even better with its speaker in a separate large box than it did when I heard it with the speaker in the rather small free cabinet of the chassis.

When you go to hear these or the other machines I will recommend take along your own records and steel needles; turn up the treble-control to the point where scratch is plainly audible; balance this with sufficient bass; and turn up the volume so that the tone is full, strong, and clear. For only then will you be hearing what I heard.

B. H. HAGGIN

FILMS

"MR. SMITH GOES TO WASHINGTON" (Columbia) is so far the best Hollywood picture of the year. It is pleasant to be able to say this without if's and but's The film runs for more than two hours, and there is not a dull moment. There are concessions to the box office, but they are made with such skill and discretion that they do not offend. And there are many concessions to good taste from which the average moviegoer seeking mild entertainment may derive enjoyment. The picture repeats, it is true, the "Mr. Deeds Goes to Town" formula of the pure country Parsifal, but is not this formula the eternal one of St. George and the dragon?

No other picture in a long time has had a script of such workmanship. Sidney Buchman wrote it on the basis of a story by Lewis R. Foster. Precise, advancing the plot and its idea with every scene, it sometimes reaches, with the help of excellent dialogue, the poetic realism which characterizes the

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French pictures "Harvest" and "The End of a Day." An honest young man is sent to the country's capital as Senator by the corrupt political machine of his home state; the intention is to use his inexperience for fraudulent ends. But being an honest fellow—I avoid the word idealist, which seems nowadays to be applied to anyone who is not prepared to steal—he clings to his notion that he must tell the truth and fight even for lost causes. Of course he wins in the end—and we know all the time that he will—but the way in which this happy ending is achieved makes the picture perfect. As the story is told, it is a modern, and successful, fairy tale.

Frank Capra has added a new masterpiece of direction and production to his imposing list. There are few pictures of such pace without haste. Every possibility of the camera is used to convey atmosphere and information. I am thinking especially of the excellent sequence showing the better aspects of Washington as seen through the eyes of the hero, and another sequence which exposes the workings of a corrupt organization. The Senate chamber itself, with its members, is reproduced with frightening reality—big scenes, hundreds of people, but not the usual mass scenes in which every individual is lost. In contrast many intimate scenes show the hand of a director who in mastering technique has not forgotten his art.

James Stewart as Jefferson Smith takes first place among Hollywood actors. It is not so long ago that he first drew attention in a small part as the criminal brother in "Rose Marie." Now he is mature and gives a difficult part, with many nuances, moments of tragi-comic impact. And he is able to do more than play isolated scenes effectively. He shows the growth of a character through experience. The art with which he causes the man to emerge out of the simpleton would in itself makes the picture worth seeing. In the end he is so forceful that his victory is thoroughly credible. One can only hope that after this success Mr. Stewart in Hollywood will remain as uncorrupted as Mr. Smith in Washington.

There are many other excellent performances: Jean Arthur as the cynical secretary with her heart in the right place; Claude Rains as the Senator who plays the game; Thomas Mitchell as a journalist with the sensibilities of a suppressed poet; and many others. Harry Carey as president of the Senate deserves special mention.

In addition to all this the picture has the spirit of true democracy—there is no trace of the fake patriotism which certain business men have been trying to sell in the movie houses.

"On Your Toes" (Warner Brothers) is a pleasant musical featuring the dancer Zorina, one of the most beautiful and most sympathetic members of her craft. "Jamaica Inn" (Erich Pommer production) is a crass disappointment. Hitchcock of "The Lady Vanishes" must have been asleep while directing this picture, and Charles Laughton, the star, is mistaken if he thinks it is enough to rest on his laurels and display the eccentric qualities of his fat face. "Jamaica Inn" is a fraud perpetrated with great names.

The "March of Time" for the month, which shows certain aspects of the English fleet, fails to achieve the interest of its report on the Maginot Line.

FRANZ HOELLERING

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Letters to the Editors

Socialists and the A. L. P.

Dear Sirs: New York City voters will remember that in behalf of the Socialist Party I wrote a letter of inquiry to Councilman Michael Quill concerning his relations with the Communist Party. When I got no reply I released the letter, to which, by the way, I have never had a reply.

Later the American Labor Party took up the matter. Its official committee adopted a resolution concerning communism, and when Mr. Quill refused to indorse the resolution the party took away its indorsement from Mr. Quill in his campaign for election. This action was I think justified and has the support of Socialists.

I am not myself a member of the American Labor Party. As is well known, I emphatically support not only the retention but the extension of the embargo. I think that the Labor Party was very badly advised from every point of view in putting in one resolution its position on foreign policy and its demand that its candidates be clearly out from under Communist control. This coupling of issues which should have been separated was particularly unfortunate because the Labor Party candidates had been nominated at a time when the party as a whole had taken no specific stand on foreign policies and was understood to have no official policy beyond the general desire to keep out of war. However, the party, through its secretary, Alex Rose, at once made it clear in the public press that it was the anti-Communist part of the resolution only which was binding on candidates.

What is more important is the vindication of the right and the duty of the American Labor Party to free itself from direct or indirect Communist control. I shall not ask space to give the evidence which greatly impairs the force of Mr. Quill's denial that he is or ever has been a member of the Communist Party. In his political life Mr. Quill has made it clear that he follows the Communist line.

Now the Communist line, as is today abundantly clear, is something laid down in Moscow, not even by the Communist International, but by one man—the brutal, Machiavellian dictator, Stalin. It does not follow that the party which blindly follows him in America should be outlawed by legal enactment. That way lies grave danger to civil liberty. It certainly does not follow that workers in labor unions should be expelled merely for being Communists. That would be a terrible punishment in unions with closed-shop agreements with employers, and the effort to prove communism involves a widespread witch hunt.

A Labor Party, however, is a voluntary association which makes up its own policy and program. Its members and certainly its candidates cannot be allowed to owe their primary allegiance to Stalin, Hitler, or any other dictator. Civil liberties are themselves endangered in America by men's refusal to understand that the right of free speech and free association guaranteed by law by no means implies logically or morally the right of men to leadership in a party or a civic association whose democratic principles they may at any time openly or secretly despise. The Labor Party would have signed its own death warrant if it had not taken drastic action to affirm in positive language the independence of its candidates of direct or indirect control by Joseph Stalin. It is, I repeat, regrettable that the job was done awkwardly, and that two resolutions which should never have been considered together were presented as one. Nevertheless, we Socialists who believe that the best way to keep America out of war is to extend, not lift, the embargo renew our general indorsement of A. L. P. efforts to discover and repudiate Communists or Communist fellow-travelers in its ranks.

NORMAN THOMAS

New York, October 16

Mr. Quill's Record

Dear Sirs: The eyes of America are focused on the campaign of Michael J. Quill for reelection to the New York City Council. This local test will do much to decide the resistance of the progressive movement to the splitting and red-baiting tactics which now appear to constitute the basic strategy of the reactionary forces in preparation for 1940.

Michael Quill has been labeled a Communist despite his repeated public denials of this charge and the lack of any evidence to substantiate it. Such charges, sufficient only for Martin Dies, are based wholly on the desire to remove from public life a militant legislator and uncompromising trade-union leader.

We, as physicians, are interested in a scientific appraisal of his actual deeds, particularly in medico-sociological problems. Here his record is unequivocal. He has initiated a model voluntary health-insurance program in the Transport Workers' Union; he has conducted a valiant battle against slums and for modern low-cost housing; he has worked incessantly for public distribution of milk; he has advocated improved facilities for hospital and dispensary care of the indigent. In short, he has earned consistently the enmity of all the obstructive, union-hating, Tammany-driven reactionaries, who drag out the old red herring in lieu of honest rebuttal.

PAUL A. KAUFMAN, M. D.,
Vice-Chairman, Medical Section of All-Professional Committee to Reelect M. J. Quill

New York, October 17

Sweden Feels the War

Dear Sirs: On the whole the people of Sweden are sympathetic to the Allies, and certainly the pact with Russia took away a lot of Hitler's prestige. Russia is the historical bogy of Sweden, and one of the reasons for whatever support Hitler enjoyed before was the belief that he was a bulwark against Bolshevism. It is not very comfortable being a small state in the neighborhood of great states at war.

Sweden is of course now making somewhat tardy preparations against the eventuality of being drawn into the struggle, though no one is quite sure how or when this will happen. One possibility generally discussed is that England will be unable to strike at Germany effectively till it controls the Sound and the south of Sweden. Germany may also find it more effective to stop supplies to England from Denmark and Sweden by an occupation in addition to the submarine warfare. Finally we are a little apprehensive of what Russia is intending to do with its enormous army. There is a lot of anxiety and indignation in Scandinavia over the sinking of neutral ships bound for England.

A partial evacuation of school children is being organized for the larger cities but this is only for certain classes, roughly those from nine to fourteen.

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Presumably the younger children will also be arranged for later. The women are all getting a questionnaire to fill out as to what sort of work they would be willing or be able to do and what training they have (nursing, ambulance, etc.); and this is all being done by voluntary workers.

Everybody hopes that Sweden can continue neutral, and a part of the reserve (*Landstorm*) has been called up to keep watch on harbors, etc., and to learn anti-aircraft work. The anti-aircraft guns have *all* been bought by private subscription and presented to the state. We have money for two in Hälsingborg, but they haven't arrived yet.

Of course in times like these stories of all kinds are going round. The boys in my son's school were warned by their headmaster not to discuss the war or politics because of the risk of espionage. Harbor towns are naturally an attraction for spies. One of the most persistent and most horrible stories—we've heard it several times in different versions—is of Swedes or Danes of German nationality who have been called up for German military service. When they arrive late, delayed because of the necessity of making arrangements for business and other affairs, they are promptly shot as deserters. I find it a bit difficult to believe that people who *do* actually turn up are shot, unless it is to impress others from the same countries of the importance of punctuality, but this is typical of the sort of story going around.

As to the effects of the war on our daily life, the first result was a rush of people to the shops to buy up sugar, coffee, soft soap, sewing cotton, and all sorts of things; in a few days there was a serious shortage of these articles. Now the shops have had to ration and sell only to their ordinary customers. This week for instance we get half a keg of sugar per head. This is ample of course for ordinary use, but it doesn't go far if one is preserving—and that is what everyone is doing now, for there is a glut of fruit, and cranberries are very cheap and plentiful.

Gasoline needs a story all to itself. When the situation began to look serious at the end of August, an appeal was made to car owners to economize because of the risk of shortage in the event of war. As a result three times as much gas was bought as in a normal week, and the day that England declared war heavy restrictions were put in force. There has been a great demand for bicycles, and people who haven't cycled for years are now seen pedaling to their work. Of course the price of bicycles is going up. Actually with so little motor traffic on the roads cycling is more of a pleasure than it has been for years, and there has been a great reduction in motor accidents. Horses are of course in great demand, and there was even a large advertisement in Stockholm's *Tidning* the other day for "live donkeys, suited for cartage in Stockholm's traffic."

C. B. M.

Hälsingborg, Sweden, October 1

Wagner and B. H. Haggin

Dear Sirs: The opening paragraphs of B. H. Haggin's record column in your issue of September distressed me deeply. Are we so soon to start smearing German art because a madman holds the German people under a brutal political system? Remembering the first World War, I have been fearful as to when the mass mind in this country would degenerate from a pointed aversion of Hitlerism to a hatred of all Germans and their works, and thence by an ever-so-slight twist to suspicion of any reasonably sane person who still insisted upon keeping his artistic interests and his political beliefs separate. But I had scarcely expected to find this ugly hysteria exhibited in the pages of *The Nation*.

It is obvious that Mr. Haggin dislikes Wagner's music. That is a personal prejudice to which he has every right. But it hardly entitles him to see a manifestation of sinister political systems in the object of his artistic dislike, any more than I would be entitled to connect hot jazz, which I detest, with the evidence about us of political corruption.

R. W. SNYDER

Indianapolis, Ind., October 19

[*Mr. Haggin replies to this letter in his column on page 476.*]

Souvarine's Sources

Dear Sirs: I was greatly astonished to read in Hans Kohn's review of Souvarine's biography of Stalin, in your issue of October 7, that the book was not "well documented." The French original of the book is available in this country, and Mr. Kohn could have satisfied himself that it contains twenty-six large pages of sources in compact small type. It was only for reasons of economy—no doubt much to the dislike of the author—that the references were not given as footnotes, as they should have been. The English translation completely omits these references. In my opinion this is a vandalism on the part of the publisher which gravely affects the value of the book and hurts the reputation of the author.

MAX NOMAD

New York, October 13

Yankee Complex

Dear Sirs: Of course, *The Nation* is published on that side of the Mason and Dixon Line which has never admitted it was wrong, and Villard has a hereditary complex on the subject. But there is no excuse for his cracks on "the usual horrors of Libby prison" in his review of "The Road to Richmond" in your issue of September 9. It was Northern refusal to exchange prisoners which caused their privation, as he could find out from any scholarly work on the subject.

C. G. HAMILTON

Aberdeen, Miss., October 10

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LOUIS FISCHER has been sending *The Nation* regular dispatches from Paris and London on the European war. He is now on his way to Italy.

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INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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